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VERMONT
Quarterly

Growth of Transportation
Printing in Peacham *Green Mountain Boy*
Letters of the War of 1812
Broken Shoe

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April, 1944

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We hope to publish in the July issue another of Professor Davis's *Middlebury Sketches*, some biographical notes on that fiery Vermonter, Matthew Lyon, some notes about the early manufacture of automobiles in the state, as well as several book reviews. And we should like to take this opportunity to thank you for your patience in waiting for the January issue (delayed through the necessity of getting together a group of articles on the same subject), as well as for your enthusiastic reception of it. *Editor*

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THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND FOR TRANSPORTATION GROWTH IN VERMONT

By WILLIAM J. WILGUS

The following pages contain the introductory sections from Colonel Wilgus's forthcoming volume entitled The Role of Transportation in the History of Vermont. *But they constitute such a concise and pertinent economic survey of the state, that they can stand on their own feet as an article of interest to readers of the* Quarterly.

Colonel William J. Wilgus has had a long career as railroad executive and engineer. His most famous achievement was the creation of the Grand Central Terminal in New York City, through which most every "consumer" of transportation has passed at one time or another. No less significant was the superb job which he did in the organization of the railroads of France for the reception and delivery of supplies for the American Expeditionary Forces of 1917–1919. His organizing genius is again at work in this war, in a manner not yet public. He is the author of several authoritative transportation studies: among the most recent is his Railway Interrelations of United States and Canada.

The parenthesized notes in the text (i.e., Fig. 3) refer to illustrations included in the complete book. One of the features of the volume is the extensive set of maps in from one to five colors, illustrating the geography and transportation problems of the state. The book, cloth-bound, is folio in size, so as to include all but two of these maps without folding, that the reader may refer to them the more easily. It may be ordered from the Society at the published price of three dollars; members are entitled to a special price of two dollars.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

ALONE among the six New England states Vermont is without direct access to the sea. Its mountain barriers still further emphasize its isolation. On the west for a hundred miles the cone-like lofty Adirondacks in New York bar the way in that direction; on the east the White Mountains of New Hampshire and their trailing foothills hinder intercommunication with the industrialized North Atlantic ports; and on the south the Berkshires of Massachusetts, including the Hoosac and Taconic Ranges, make the going difficult. On the north the region's access to the outside world is untrammeled by nature's obstacles, but the adjoining foreign territory puts a check on unfettered contact with the deep-draft St. Lawrence River channel for ocean carriers only fifty miles away.

Vermont's saving grace, from the standpoint of transportation, is its possession of north-and-south lines of least resistance along its eastern and western borders. On the west is Lake Champlain* nestled for 112 miles between the Adirondacks and Green Mountains, with its Richelieu River lower outlet flowing northerly for 80 miles into the St. Lawrence River, and its Wood Creek inlet rising at the source of waters leading south to the head of ocean navigation in the Hudson River at Albany and Troy. All this constitutes a remarkable 264-mile cut-off of great potentiality for transportation between the St. Lawrence and Hudson Rivers, on which Vermont has the good fortune to abut for a hundred miles. Corresponding to this, on the eastern border of the state, is the south-bound Connecticut River,† once the active

* In the United States the lake's length is 112 miles by 9 miles wide at its broadest point, narrowing in its southern 37-mile arm, known as the Narrows, to widths varying from a few hundred feet to a mile. Depths are as great as 300 feet or more, with a minimum for navigation measuring 12 feet at controlling points; the mean low water surface elevation above sea level is 95 feet. In Canada its area in square miles is 17 and in the United States 419, a total of 436. (40)

† From its source at the northern tip of New Hampshire the river's fall is 1589 feet in its length of some 360 miles to Long Island Sound. Its width increases from 130± feet at the international boundary to 780± feet at the Massachusetts line, the western low water mark in this distance of upward of 206 + miles constituting Vermont's eastern border. The elevation of the river above sea level at the former point is approximately 1060 feet, and at the latter 232 feet, these data being of use in determining the height to be surmounted at the crest of the Height of Land. (15, 34, 35, 47)

scene of boating in early days and since providing an easy course along its banks for land means of transportation.

It was because of the absence of natural barriers in what was in time to be the northerly boundary of Vermont, stretching from the foot of Lake Champlain easterly to the Connecticut River, that its soil was early adopted as a passageway for Indians and white men between New France, later to become Canada, and the British Colonies destined to become the United States. With the coming of nationhood on both sides of the international boundary the portals there took on increasing importance in the movement of "bridge traffic" between the American West and Canada and the warm water ports of Portland, Boston, Providence, New London and New York.

A glance at the map (Fig. 1) makes this clearly evident. Eager rivalry for the growing trade of the vast interior of the continent,* between the Mississippi River basin's southerly outlet to the Gulf of Mexico at New Orleans, the Red River northerly outlet leading to Hudson Bay, and the Great Lakes basin's northeasterly outlets to the Upper Atlantic, eventually gave to the latter a predominance in the struggle for the trade of all three basins, in which the St. Lawrence and Hudson Rivers, coupled with laborious land crossings of the Appalachian Range, played leading parts. It was a battle between Titans in which New England and Canada, lying as they did at the mercy of New York with its control of the water-level route through the gap between the Catskills and Adirondacks to the sea, looked for relief in some degree by means of circuitous routes north of the Adirondacks through the Vermont gateways east of Lake Champlain.

Vermont thus is to be viewed as the key-stone — a pivotal point — in the northern arch of transportation connecting the continent's interior with New England, and incidentally with the port of New York, as a governing influence in the weaving of the two countries' freight rate fabric.

The internal structure of Vermont† is next to be given thought,

* Embracing some 1,250,000 square miles in the Mississippi River basin, some 525,000 square miles in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River basin, and upward of 1,486,000 square miles in the Hudson Bay basin, a total of say 3¼ million square miles or approximately a half of the entire area of the United States and Canada. (8, 88)

† Measuring as the crow flies 154.2 miles in length north and south, the state is 91.4 miles wide along its northern border and 40.9 miles along its southern boundary, an average of 62.3 miles. The area comprises 9609 square miles of which 9278 are land. In size Vermont among the 48 states ranks 42nd. (15, 93) Authorities differ on the northern width, 88, 89 and 93 sometimes being given.

affecting as it has the state's historic past for upward of three hundred years. As will be seen from the map (Fig. 2), it is "literally a land of little rivers" of which the valleys have ever offered lines of least resistance for all types of transportation seeking low points of crossing of the various divides.

In this the outstanding feature is the richly verdured Green Mountains backbone bearing slightly to the east of north from the southwestern corner of the state on the Massachusetts line in the town of Pownal to a mid-point in the international border in the town of Jay, unbroken except for two deep openings through which the Winooski and Lamoille Rivers flow. There is also the Height of Land that diverges from the Green Mountain range in the town of Granville, slightly more than half way in their northerly course, and runs easterly and northeasterly quite close to the Connecticut River to the Canadian line in the town of Canaan. Diverging, too, from the Green Mountains is the divide extending from Mt. Tabor westerly through the towns of Peru, Dorset and Rupert to the New York state line. Added to these are the Hoosac Range in the towns of Stamford and Readsboro, the Taconic Range along the southwestern side of the state, and the Braintree, Northfield and Worcester Mountains extending in tandem immediately east of and parallel to the Green Mountains all the way from the White River to the Lamoille.

These governing watersheds divide the state into three parts — the Hudson River basin draining westward into New York State through three openings in the Taconic Range; the Connecticut River basin in which twelve rivers of note thread their way in a southeasterly and southerly direction fostering traffic movements between the northern border gateways and the sea; and the St. Lawrence River basin, embracing the territory north of the Hudson River basin and west of the Height of Land, where the waters are gathered together in ten notable rivers of which three flowing northerly empty into Lake Memphremagog and seven in a northerly and westerly direction into Lake Champlain. Contrary to a popular understanding, the St. Lawrence River basin is by far the largest of the three, its area and that of the Hudson River basin constituting 60 per cent of the total for the state, while that of the Connecticut River basin embraces but 40 per cent.

It is to be observed, therefore, that twenty-five swiftly falling rivers of special import criss-cross the state, of which many are marked by noteworthy features of scenic charm and usefulness. The long north-and-south trough between the Taconic and Green Mountain Ranges,

known as the West Vermont Valley, has been of inestimable value in the development of the state, as have the famous breaks in the Height of Land known as the Granville, Northfield or Brookfield and Williamstown Gulfs, where the sources of three branches of the White River flowing south and southeasterly into the Connecticut adjoin those of an equal number of tributaries of the Winooski River flowing north and then northwesterly through the gap in the Green Mountains into Lake Champlain. Between the Green and Worcester Mountains, too, lies a valley of commanding interest.

A description of Vermont's topography would be incomplete were not mention made of the characteristics of the Green Mountains and of their divergent Height of Land, the surmounting of which has been inescapable in the development of the state, whether for local interchanges between the basins or for interrelations with the outside world. In its length of more than two hundred miles within the state, the Green Mountains number some 58 peaks ranging from 3000 to 4393 feet in altitude above the sea, an average somewhat in excess of 3500 feet. Between them, at eleven crossings, there are passes varying in highway altitude from the lowest, 1330 feet, in the town of Eden to the highest, 2389 feet, in the town of Woodford. Generally speaking their altitude may be said to be of the order of 2000 feet, other than where the Winooski and Lamoille Rivers burst through the mountains at elevations only a quarter of that figure. (15)

The Height of Land beyond the "Gulfs" is in general unmarked by peaks, and its lateral slopes are much more gentle than those of the main range of which it is an off-shoot. Its highway summit crossings number fifteen, with altitudes above sea-level varying from a minimum of 920 feet in the Williamstown Gulf to a maximum of 1940 feet in the town of Walden. The gaps in the Taconic and Hoosac Ranges make the climbing there less difficult. (15)

On the whole it is to be said that Vermont is a most difficult state to traverse, both in its internal movements from place to place and in its reachings outward toward the sea in one direction and the interior of the continent in the other. For the rare beauty with which it is so well endowed the state has had to pay the heavy price of isolation thus enforced by its physical characteristics. This obviously is to be borne in mind in studying the part played by transportation in its social and material upbuilding since the coming of Champlain.

Bibliographical References: Nos. 8, 15, 17, 34, 35, 40, 47, 63, 76, 88, 93.

When the region now named Vermont first came within his range of vision from the top of Mount Royal in 1535, Jacques Cartier could not have dreamed of it as a land rich in trade, gold, precious stones and romance, as had Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro of the Spanish Main. Its distant azure sky line held beauty but the world's imagination did not invest it with a promise of great material gain. So he sailed away to be followed seventy-four years later by Samuel de Champlain who viewed its lofty mountains from the lake that bears his name and discovered it to be a wilderness, withal beautiful, sparsely peopled by warring nomads and possessed of stately forests, swift, sparkling rivers and abundant fish and game. In the usual sense it offered no hope of profitable exploitation. Mineral resources, if any there were, lay hidden from sight; the rugged terrain to be made fruitful called for painful labor; and the unsurmountable difficulties of transportation by primitive means to far-off markets barred the disposal of surplus products.

One feature, however, was shortly found to give to the region a strategic value of outstanding importance, namely, its comparatively easy means of communication between New York, New England and New France. By Indian trail, lake and stream, ways were thus open for explorers, missionaries, hunters, traders, occasional settlers here and there, and bands of warriors in constant conflict.

For a century and a half after Champlain's coming these rude conditions continued amidst ever present danger until the fall of Quebec in 1759 brought peace and the opening of the region to settlement by the British colonists. The time at last was ripe for the development of its resources 224 years after the coming of Jacques Cartier. The long sleeping beauty was about to be awakened.

The pioneers in this new movement *en masse* faced a fearsome task. Widely separated little forest clearings made by them required widening; and pot and pearl ashes made from the fallen hardwoods were painfully carried to distant points where they could be sold for cash, or bartered for a few necessities carried in at great expense from the outside world. Food was gleaned from garden patches and forest and stream, as were materials for making furniture, tools and clothing. It was a way of life for the settlers — one of self-sufficiency — as the difficulties of transportation held them as in a vise.

With the passage of years came the building of rough, narrow

roads for intercommunication and for access to navigable lakes and streams, and with them came scattered grist mills, cider mills, saw mills, paper mills, woolen mills and tanneries driven by small water powers to supply local needs; also little villages with stores, churches, blacksmith shops, and artisans practicing a few trades such as shoemaking in which specializing was found to be preferable to home work. Lumbering, too, took on a growing importance through the use of streams for floating logs and lumber, as well as their finished products, to and through Lake Champlain via Burlington in rafts to Quebec for the English market; also to the Connecticut River for rafting to Springfield and Hartford and beyond. Out of these activities came an enormous trade in this product, until the ruthless exhaustion of the state's available forests in the 1840's forced the importation of Canadian timber for the continuance of the process of manufacture built up from the home product at Burlington and elsewhere. Both water and rail transportation made this possible as the years went on.

It was not alone in lumbering that the resources of Vermont took on stature. The clearing away of forests yielded agricultural land from which grains and live stock and their products were sent to market by improved means of transportation; from forests, spared the lumberman's axe, fuel was drawn; and the humble ginseng exchanged for tea and other luxuries from China after the opening of trade with that country in 1784–85. The coming of the first merino sheep in 1810–11 gave rise to the need for expanded grazing areas on which the number of sheep reached the astonishing figure of 1,681,819 in 1840, soon followed by a steady steep decline as will be seen on Fig. 4. The causes for this reversal, among others, were western competition fostered by free grazing lands and cheap long-haul freight rates, the lowered tariff on wool, and depredations of wild animals and dogs. The shift that had been made from the growing of grains and the raising of beef cattle and swine to sheep culture, thus changing the state in large part from an exporter to an importer of feed, and lessening opportunities for farm employment, is reported to have given to the state a body blow as indicated by the falling off in the rate of growth of its population after 1830.

Whether or no this is a correct conclusion, it was to offset the loss of its preeminence in sheep culture that the eyes of the state were turned to dairy farming. As will be seen on Fig. 4, the number of dairy cows increased markedly after 1850 to 1920; since then the growth has been stationary or on the decline. In the beginning the

making of butter and cheese was an important element in this, but in recent decades the shipping of fluid milk has taken its place.

In brief it is to be said that in agriculture, and its allied industries, Vermont has passed through the successive phases of self-sufficiency, diversified farming and lumbering, sheep grazing and dairying. It has been said that its happiest time, with its ups and downs, was in the 25-year period of diversification lasting from the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783 to the enforcement of the Embargo Act in 1808. Then man power, soil and forests were in their prime, wild game and fish in abundance were at beck and call, crude means of transportation in New England were on the mend, destructive competition with the West had not yet raised its head, the independence of self-sufficiency in a measure still survived, the lure of the distant factory was yet to come to separate families, and Europe made upon the country urgent calls for badly needed food and raiment.

The mineral resources of Vermont, shown in outline on Fig. 3, lay fallow in large part until the latter half and even the closing quarter of the 19th century. The coming of railroad transportation gradually made possible the large scale development of the remarkably fine deposits of marble and slate centering at Rutland on the western side of the Green Mountains; of granite ledges of the highest quality centering at Barre in the north-central region west of the Height of Land; of copper ore mines in the Connecticut River valley doomed to a checkered career and of late brought to life again for the war's duration; of asbestos of a rare quality in the northern part of the state; and of limestone, talc and soapstone at several places. Iron ore was found widely scattered and worked for local needs from early days until this industry was brought to a close by the high cost of coal in substitution for locally made charcoal in the manufacture of pig in the 1840's, and by the costliness of transportation by crude means over hilly roads for delivery to rail and water carriers at distant points.

Manufacturing in the state commenced, as has been told, at the various small mills with which to supply the simple needs of the early settlers. Then followed forges and iron works, of which there is the instance of Ethan Allen's about 1789; lumber and woodworking industries, in particular at Burlington and Newport; marble and granite works in the vicinity of Rutland and Barre, respectively; factories for the making of screens, organs and knitwear at Winooski, Brattleboro and Bennington, respectively; machine tools at Windsor and Springfield; and scales at Rutland and St. Johnsbury. Textile mills, too,

came increasingly into being at scattered places, and facilities for the manufacture and packaging of maple sugar and syrup, for many years Vermont's most famous products.

In this development of institutions for manufacture, the power for their operation was derived from the state's many little rivers. The larger hydro-electric plants along the Connecticut River, and the impounded waters of the Deerfield River in the southern part of the state, have not helped much in this, as their output in the main has been sent to other regions.

As was to be expected, the industrial development of the state has resulted in a concentration of urban population at leading centers, fourteen in number, of which their relative importance as measured by population is illustrated in Figs. 3 and 4. In the St. Lawrence River basin will be found the principal ones, where the mineral resources are more plentiful. The Connecticut River valley in this respect has suffered.

Mention in this recital has not been made of the presence in the state of oil and coal; nor of concentrated beds of easily worked staple minerals like iron and copper in great quantity directly served by low-cost transportation; nor of adjoining deep water channels leading to the Great Lakes or sea, by means of which raw materials from the wide world may be brought in cheaply and the products made from them sent out. They simply do not exist to make of Vermont an industrial paradise.

There are, however, two of the state's possessions that shine forth with brilliance — the strategic position it occupies in pathways of transportation between New York, New England, Canada and the West; and its far-famed beauty made accessible by rail and highway and air to seekers of recreation and spiritual uplift. The former advantage has brought to the state small reward except that which comes from unselfish service yielded others; the latter has given to its citizens a sense of pride and some monetary return, together with the promise that the future protection and enhancement of its beauty will go far to keep to the state its young who for much more than a century have sought elsewhere for opportunities denied them at home.

Looking backward it is to be said in all this that transportation has both given and taken away blessings, as will be dwelt upon in the chapters that follow.

Bibliographical References: Nos. 2, 13, 15, 17, 27, 32, 36, 44, 50, 54, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64–66, 71, 73, 89, 91, 94.

RIVAL CLAIMANTS

Long a no-man's land lying between warring peoples, Vermont by various names stands high in history. As a rich source of food and furs, a hunting ground abounding in game and fish, it was fought for by Indian tribes — Algonquins and Iroquois — who sought control of its strategic routes for primitive travel by canoe and trail from the St. Lawrence River basin to the Connecticut and Hudson River valleys and beyond. With the coming of the white man in the early decades of the 17th century the struggle continued on a rising scale. French and English in their thirst for empire, and later the British and Americans during the Revolutionary War, found the travel ways to be essential to their success both in trade and battle. Rivalries for possession of the no-man's land also arose between the neighboring British colonies which looked with greedy eyes on the opportunities there presented for speculation.

Vermont, therefore, under its successive names of Iroquoisia, New France, New Hampshire Grants, New Connecticut, and the Republic of Vermont before it joined the Union, was in truth the cockpit of colonial America, much more a dark and bloody ground than was Kentucky or the Mohawk Valley.

A brief glance backward is necessary that the reasons for this dramatic situation after the white man's coming may be made clear — a situation in which transportation played an influential part.

Almost simultaneously, in 1609, Champlain in furtherance of the claims of his sovereign, Henry IV of France, extended his explorations southward on the lake that bears his name, while Henry Hudson sailed northward on the river that bears his name and laid grounds for the claim of his employer, the Dutch, to suzerainty as far as the site of Albany and beyond toward Lake Champlain. A few years later the English, in the reigns of James I and Charles I, made their Plymouth and Puritan landings in Massachusetts Colony in 1620 and 1630, respectively, and spread westerly and northerly in the direction of the regions previously penetrated by the Dutch and French. The Vermont territory, situated as it was at the meeting point of these three approaches, was bound to be a battle ground for the whites as it had been for the prehistoric red man.

For eighty years after 1609, however, this land was left in peaceful solitude other than for Indian forays such as those of King Philip's War in 1675–76 and of roving bands ever to be feared. Occasional

small military expeditions to fight the Indians, and lone hunters, traders and brave missionaries like Father Jogues, were the only whites to venture there. A fort was erected by the French on Isle La Motte in or before 1666 to command the outlet of Lake Champlain. Far to the south the Dutch domain had fallen to the English in 1664 and was then handed over to the Duke of York by his brother Charles II, with other territory, to include the Vermont country south of a line extending southwesterly from the source of the Connecticut River to a point on Lake Champlain. A previous grant had been made in 1629 by the Council for New England to Captain John Mason, named by him New Hampshire, extending westerly to Lake Champlain and placed under the protection of Massachusetts in 1641. As early as 1683 the British were disputing the jurisdiction of France over the territory south of the St. Lawrence River, on the ground that it had been acquired by the province of New York through a treaty with the Iroquois. During the latter quarter of the 80-year period, therefore, the Vermont country was claimed in whole or part by New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts under British rule, and by New France under French rule, with overlappings promotive of discord.

Then came King William's War between the British and French, lasting from 1689 to 1697, during which Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River, with their connecting Indian trails and waterways, became thoroughfares for attack and counter-attack. It was in this conflict that the British in 1690 established a trading post and fort on the east bank of Lake Champlain where it narrows at the site of Chimney Point, as a check on the one that the French had built in 1666 on Isle La Motte. After a short interval came Queen Anne's War to last from 1702 to 1713, marked in 1704 by the attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts, and points beyond by French and Indians moving on Lake Champlain and the Winooski and Connecticut Rivers. The conclusion of peace at Utrecht resulted in the fixing of an ill-defined boundary between Massachusetts and New France about where the northern line of the counties of Bennington and Windham, Vermont, now runs.

Ten years of comparative peace ensued when Father Râle's War broke out lasting from 1723 to 1726, as a result of which Fort Dummer was built in 1724 by the province of Massachusetts, near the southeast corner of the present town of Brattleboro, to serve as a trading post and command movements to and fro on the Connecticut River.

During the next fourteen years of uneasy peace the French in 1730 erected a fort on what is believed to have been the abandoned site of the strong-point built by the British in 1690, and in the next year they completed Fort St. Frederic on the opposite side of the Narrows, at the site of what, through capture by the English in 1759, was to become known as Crown Point. In this fortification of a vital spot on Lake Champlain the stage was being set for the coming conflict, the senseless War of the Austrian Succession lasting in Europe from 1740 to 1748 and in America known as King George's War from 1744 to 1748, which had its tragic consequences without a resulting material change in the position of the claimants to the Vermont country. Three southern forts had their part in this — Fort Dummer, Number Four on the Connecticut River at the site of Charlestown, N.H., just below the mouth of the Black River in Vermont, and Fort Massachusetts at the lower end of the West Vermont Valley — in addition to those on Lake Champlain.

The suspension of hostilities between the contending peoples for a short six years' period was succeeded by the so-called French and Indian War, lasting from 1754 to 1763, also known in history as the Seven Years' War with its official start in Europe in 1756. It was bitterly fought along the Lake Champlain thoroughfare where Ticonderoga (known to the French as Fort Carillon) and Crown Point (Fort St. Frederic) were centers of conflict; and along the Connecticut River passageway at Number Four and Fort Dummer. With the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec in 1759, and the fall of Montreal in the succeeding year, the empire of France passed into history and the Vermont no-man's land lying south of the 45th parallel ceased to be such when it came beneath the British flag in 1763. Its beauties, the fertility of its intervales, and the richness of its forests had been brought to the appreciative eyes of the colonial soldiers who traversed the newly built Crown Point Road from Wentworth's Ferry on the Connecticut River, nearly opposite Number Four, to the shores of Lake Champlain, and who boated and rafted those waters from end to end. They carried back the news to their New York and New England homes and the emigration to what had been a land of forbidding mystery started. The sleeping beauty was awakened after the lapse of 150 years, during which the din of conflict had disturbed her dreams, first for 80 years when the Indian was the white man's foe; and then for the succeeding 70 years when white men from overseas with the aid of the Indian fought

each other. Transportation in all this, though crude to the last degree, was the foundation on which all else rested.

Between 1740 and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, and afterward, the over-lordship of the Vermont country was actively claimed by all three neighboring provinces, even when they became states. New Hampshire alleged its ownership as far west as Lake Champlain by reason of the Mason Grant of 1629 and the fixing of the Massachusetts–New York boundary by George II at a north-and-south line twenty miles east of the Hudson River, and its governor, Benning Wentworth, accordingly made grants of land beginning in 1749 to settlers west of the Connecticut River. New York in turn claimed that its jurisdiction north of Massachusetts extended east to the Connecticut River, based on the terms of the Charles II grant to the Duke of York in 1664 and affirmed a hundred years later by George III in 1764. Massachusetts, too, had certain claims to jurisdiction north of its east-and-west boundary line which had been determined by George II in 1740.

This disputed territory, termed New Hampshire Grants until 1777, and thereafter the Republic of Vermont until its admission to the Union, was the scene of bitter controversy between settlers holding their titles from the governor of New Hampshire and the governing authorities in New York who sought their ejection. Moreover, the scope of the successor to New Hampshire Grants in 1777, the newly created New Connecticut shortly changed in name to the Republic of Vermont, was broadened on the east to include a strip of New Hampshire along the Connecticut River and on the west allegedly to embrace a part of northern New York beyond Lake Champlain, while an effort was even made literally to wipe the new republic off the map by fixing a division line between New Hampshire and New York at the crest of the Green Mountains. With the coming of statehood in 1791 Vermont geographically became the state it is today and responsibility for its means of transportation was then exclusively its own.

The War of Independence made of the land in question again a battlefield. Up and down Lake Champlain swept the armies and navies of the Americans and British, marked by the naval engagement at Valcour Island; the gain and loss and regaining of Ticonderoga and Crown Point commanding the passage of troops and their supplies at those vital points; the battles of Hubbardton and Bennington, and the decisive battle of the world at nearby Saratoga which settled the supremacy of the Americans on the route that bordered

Vermont on the west. In these stirring times the eastern side of the state had its momentous part in the building of the Hazen Military Road from Newbury on the upper Connecticut River toward Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River in Canada, a project of great benefit to the pioneer settlers though not carried beyond the Green Mountains' crest. The old Crown Point Road of the French and Indian War continued to serve well its double purpose of opening the region to peaceful settlement and furnishing a thoroughfare for the American troops in times of crises.

The final admission of Vermont to statehood brought a close to the many rivalries for its control. The lines of communication so necessary for its development were open to the world and no longer endangered by internal conflict. The later war of 1812 did again threaten its freedom of intercourse on Lake Champlain, but that soon passed. Thought may now be turned to influences from without the state which deeply affected the nation's transportation as a whole, and in so doing had a notable part in molding the fortunes of Vermont.

Bibliographical References: Nos. 2, 3, 13, 14, 15, 24, 27, 32, 36, 47, 54, 59, 85, 88, 89, 91, 95.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

It has been well said that "the true history of the United States is the history of transportation," applicable alike to the Union as a whole and to its interrelated parts. A full knowledge of events in history is thus required in order that their causes and effects bearing on transportation may be thoroughly understood. An examination of the historical records of the newly launched ship of state, following the close of the Revolutionary War, is in this just as essential as an inspection of the log of a vessel on reaching port to learn of all the happenings on its cruise before arriving there. To confine a study of Vermont's transportation strictly within its borders would be inexcusably to ignore consideration of distant sources and destinations of traffic flowing into or through or around the state, and of political changes, wars, discoveries, inventions, shifting and growth of populations, legislation, overseas demands, and agricultural, mining, forestry and industrial expansion, all affecting the character, volume and direction of movement in which Vermont was destined by its location to play some part.

It is to throw light on this broader situation that this brief chapter has been written.

At the start-off it is to be said that the War of Independence had been no sooner won than the clear vision of George Washington in 1784–85 pointed to the need for "the nearest and best communication between the eastern and western water . . . as a chain binding the peoples of the Mississippi to those of the Atlantic seaboard." A failure to pay heed to this admonition long threatened the loss to the Union of the territory beyond the Alleghenies, where the natural course to foreign markets was down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to and through the Spanish port of New Orleans to the Gulf of Mexico. It was at this time that the closing of the British West Indies to the new-born nation's shipping led to the opening of trade with China in American bottoms carrying among other things products indigenous to Vermont such as furs and ginseng. Moreover Europe, suffering from revolutions and recurring wars, was beckoning for foodstuffs in response to which the famous American clipper ship came into being.

The danger of a loss to the United States of the Mississippi Valley finally became so imminent, after a lapse of nearly twenty years, that the Louisiana Purchase was brought about by Jefferson in 1803, an event found to be none too early when Aaron Burr became involved in moves which if successful might have prevented the winning of the West. The acquirement, forty-five years later, of Mexico's possessions west of the Mississippi and north of the Rio Grande, as the outcome of the Mexican War of 1846–48, gave to the United States the resources of the West in full, together with the command of its outlets in opposite directions to the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic seaboard.

Meantime a struggle of vast proportions had become increasingly intense for the carriage of the Mississippi Valley's products. For more than fifty years, after the Louisiana Purchase, the easy route down stream through New Orleans took precedence over more costly ones running eastward across the Allegheny divide. The coming of the steamboat, beginning in 1811, had removed one of the handicaps from which navigation there suffered. Gradually, however, the tide was made to turn the other way, as first the National Turnpike under federal auspices was built from connections with Philadelphia and Baltimore to Wheeling on the Ohio River in 1818; then the opening of the Erie Canal affording water communication from the port of New York across the wheat-growing Genesee Valley to the Great

Lakes in 1825, followed by the completion of the Pennsylvania system of canals and portages over the Alleghenies and by several canals between Lakes Erie and Michigan and the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys; and finally the extension of the country's growing railroad network of main lines and branches from the Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio in 1852, to the Mississippi River in 1854, to the Missouri in 1859, to the threshold of the Northwest in 1862, and to the wheat fields of Kansas and thence to California in 1869. At the commencement of the Civil War traffic on the Mississippi River and its tributaries was at its crest. Thereafter the superiority of the railroad over river navigation, with its greater speeds and reliability and its noninterruption of service during winter months, had its reward in the reversal in direction of the major portion of the Mississippi Valley movements of grain and other agricultural products, and animals and their products, from south to east with the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence outlet in the fore.

Along with this battle for control of transportation in the West went the development of the Great Lakes basin with its treasures of iron and copper and other ores contiguous to coal, the tapping of which by the Erie Canal in 1825, shortly after the appearance of the first steamboat there in 1818, was followed by the building of competing lines of railroad in the East. The Western Railroad (now the Boston and Albany) was opened from Boston to Albany in 1841. Then came the chain of low-gradient railroads, afterward known as the New York Central, completed from Albany to Buffalo on Lake Erie in 1842, from Albany to the port of New York in 1851, and from Buffalo to Chicago by means of friendly connections along the south shore of Lake Erie in 1853 and on the north side of that lake in 1855. Over the Allegheny Mountains, in contrast with the New York Central's easy passage through the Mohawk River gap, the Erie Railroad arrived at Dunkirk on Lake Erie in 1851, and lines ultimately forming parts of the Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio and Erie systems reached Chicago at various times between 1852 and 1874 and later.

In the third quarter of the 19th century, therefore, Chicago at the southern tip of Lake Michigan had become the focus of many railroads penetrating the West in all directions; leading eastward were four American trunk line groups with termini at the competing ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

In water transportation on the Great Lakes the railroads had an

ally instead of a contestant as they had on the Mississippi. The discovery and working of stupendous deposits of copper and iron ores in the Lake Michigan and Lake Superior regions starting in the 1840's and 1850's, added to the ever increasing grain crops stimulated by the invention of labor-saving farm machinery in those years, made demands for the low cost movement of bulk commodities as far east as the foot of Lake Erie and beyond. These demands were alone to be satisfied at the hands of deep-draft lake carriers of great capacity in cooperation with the railroads acting as feeders and distributors, and taking over the entire load when navigation was suspended in the winter months.

All of this tremendous development, attended as it has been by growth of population and the marriage of raw materials from the nation's interior with fuel from the southwest and from the mines of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and West Virginia, had its outcome in the creation of manufacturing enterprises on a gigantic scale in the Great Lakes and adjoining regions, dependent on rail and water outlets to the East. The rise of meat packing industries near the supply of live stock in the West, coupled with the invention of refrigeration in the 1870's, gave still more importance to the Great Lakes region as a treasure house eagerly served by the lines of communication which fought for the carriage of its products to Atlantic ports, themselves contesting for control of domestic markets and foreign trade.

The eyes of Canada were not closed to the opportunities offered them to partake in this movement eastward. Emulating the example set by the State of New York in its opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, the Canadians soon after initiated a system of canals around the falls of Niagara and rapids in the St. Lawrence River, in order that they might divert a share of American grain products northeastward to their seaport of Montreal. The Americans themselves fostered this, as the use of the Welland Canal by their vessels would open their ports on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, in particular Ogdensburg, to Great Lakes water traffic, and also give them a chance of winning some of the Montreal business overland and by Lake Champlain to the New England states and New York.

The Canadians, though belatedly, also saw the need for rail transportation to supplement that by water closed in winter, and in 1853 step by step opened their Grand Trunk Railway system from Portland, Maine, westward through Montreal, reaching Toronto in 1856, Detroit where connection was made with American lines in

1860 and Chicago by rail in 1881, with branches either direct or through connections to ports on Lake Huron in 1854–55, to the Niagara Frontier in 1855, and ultimately to many other points in or reaching American territory, and to its terminal on the Pacific in 1915. The completion of the Victoria bridge over the St. Lawrence River, at Montreal in 1860, further facilitated the interchange of traffic via the Vermont gateways with railroads in the United States.

In the creation of the Canadian Confederation in 1867 — the making of a nation — transportation had the leading part, for without the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, completed to the Pacific in 1885, that would not have been possible. The expansion of this system put it in touch with the American West and Great Lakes region and with the New England states via Vermont, thus adding another great group of feeders to the railroads on the American side of the border. Furthermore, the bringing together of the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern Railway systems into the fold of the Canadian National Railways in 1918–23, made with the Canadian Pacific two mighty collectors of traffic on both sides of the international boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with eastern entrances to the United States through Vermont.

In short, the opening of the Canadian routes, tapping the north interior of the continent in general, and the enormously productive Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes basin in particular, gave to the New England states and port of New York alternative so-called differential routes, withal circuitous, on which lower freight rates served as a check on charges made by the so-called standard roads — the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Erie and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads — devoted to interests believed to be divergent from those of Boston, Portland and other New England ports and their hinterlands. The bonding privilege, strengthened in 1845, whereby cars passing between points in either country over the soil of the other were sealed, as well as the adoption of other cooperative regulations by the legislative bodies of both countries, went far to facilitate this free interchange of traffic.

There are other events of a nation-wide nature that cast their light, or shadow, on the development of Vermont. The direct access of its sister New England states to the sea brought to their ports raw materials from all over the world for manufacture into finished products distributable to domestic and foreign markets. The building in their neighborhoods of factory towns began in earnest some years after the

War of 1812, accompanied by the introduction of corporate means of financing, created situations which had their serious repercussions in a state like Vermont isolated from the sea, unpossessed of mineral resources of magnitude, and dependent on agriculture and its kindred pursuits for the livelihood of its inhabitants. Opportunities on the outside in both New England and in the West, offered the young possessed of a natural thirst for amusements, adventure, and the satisfaction of their ambitions, could not but lure from the Green Mountain State its richest possession — the inheritors of its soil and traditions.

Another influence which bore heavily on Vermont's well-being was the tariff issue which after all had almost as much to do with the outbreak of the Civil War as the slave question. Moderate in their burden in the first years of Vermont's statehood, duties on imports were gradually increased in response to the demands of northern manufacturers and producers of raw materials in competition with foreign sources. Against this policy the cotton growing, non-manufacturing southern states were arrayed almost to the point of open conflict in the 1820's and 1830's, until they were successful in bringing about a lowering of duties in the 1840's which, among other things, laid low the raising of sheep in Vermont, its leading source of income.

Enough perhaps has been dwelt upon to demonstrate that domestic and world-wide events have had an outstanding part in the molding of the nation's history. Transportation has laid at the root of all of them, whether by ocean and inland waterways, by highways and railroads, or by pipelines and in the air. As has already been said, a knowledge of the situation in its broadest sense has seemed necessary for a full understanding of the part played in it by Vermont.

Bibliographical References: Nos. 2, 3, 13, 15, 23, 24, 32, 36, 47, 59, 88, 89, 95, 96.

POPULATION

Vermont measured by size and rate of growth of population shows up badly from causes not difficult to trace. Unparalleled for beauty, this very virtue has made its rugged surface in large degree difficult or impossible to farm with profit; and its remoteness from the sea has barred the wholesale importation of raw materials it lacks, from which to manufacture outbound finished products. Apart from its

scenic charm, the qualities of the region obvious to the eyes of the early settlers were its forests and wild life, doomed in large part to exhaustion within a hundred years, and the opportunities there offered for an independent way of life.

A full knowledge of Vermont's unique position as a thoroughfare between New England and Canada and the West, however, was not to come until the advent of the railroad at a time when forests available for large-scale exportation were approaching their end, and the state's leading source of income, sheep, was on the down-slide toward extinction. That was in the 1840's, but relief then sought in other directions to maintain the previous rate of growth of population since 1760 was of no avail. As will be seen on the accompanying diagram (Fig. 4), the substitution of dairying for the raising of sheep, and the promotion of the state's granite, marble, slate and other mining industries, did not save the day.

It is with this general situation in mind, reflecting as it does the bearing of its physiography, resources, struggles of rival claimants and external influences on Vermont's development, that attention may be directed to the peopling of the region before and after the barriers to its settlement were lowered at the end of the French and Indian War. Thus it is that a groundwork may be laid for giving thought to the state's means of movement, its transportation, without which the gradual building of a civilized society would have been impossible.

As already mentioned, the only human inhabitants of the Vermont country for 150 years after the coming of Champlain, were warring Indian nomads and white men, other than a few explorers, hunters, fishermen, traders, and missionaries, as well as settlers in small numbers in widely scattered places. To the French is to be given credit for the earliest pioneering. In 1666 they had erected the first church for Christian communicants in the region, on Isle La Motte, preceded and followed by other small gatherings along or near the shores of Lake Champlain, of which the more prominent was the one started about 1730 at the site of Chimney Point and after a prosperous life of nearly thirty years abandoned when New France fell. In the Connecticut River valley there was the trading post established at Fort Dummer in 1724, in which year the Dutch in small numbers are said to have been present in the Hoosic River valley in what is now Pownal. Between 1737 and 1760 some settlers had also drifted within the sites of Vernon (Hinsdale), Dummerston, Putney, Westminster, Rockingham and Springfield. The white population of the

region as a whole has been variously estimated; at its peak it may have numbered perhaps a thousand toward the end of the nomad period.

With the coming of peace the real rush started in 1761–62 and the frontier was gradually pushed northward for fifty years along lines of least resistance — the streams and lakes — toward Canada. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the towns along the Connecticut River had their sprinklings of newcomers as far as Barnet, and north of there in Lunenburg and Maidstone; also in the second tier of towns as far as Stratford and in Peacham; and in several instances even in the third and fourth tiers in the rear. On the other side of the state from one to two or occasionally three tiers of towns were thus early settled, extending with few exceptions from Pownal through Bennington along the New York border, and in the valley of Otter Creek, and along the shores of Lake Champlain to Colchester from which a jump was made to Swanton. By 1770–71 the population had grown from a thousand, more or less, to 7000 according to Zadock Thompson, or 25,000 as given in *A Century of Population Growth* published by the Federal Government in 1909. During the War of Independence, despite its ravages, settlements in the state spread inward in some towns as far north as the lower Winooski and Lamoille River valleys, and to St. Albans and the larger islands in Lake Champlain. By the end of the war the population had grown to 30,000 as indicated by Thompson for 1783, or 40,000 for the year 1780 as reported in the above mentioned federal publication.

Following the Revolutionary War settlements spread still farther into the interior of the state, in particular north of the Winooski River to include headwaters of the Lamoille River, the population by 1791 having reached 85,425 according to the national census. It was not until 1812, or thereabouts, that settlements were made in most of the far north interior towns along the Canadian border.

The accelerated growth of population may be said to have started in 1780, and increased by leaps and bounds until 1810 when the number had grown to 217,895, and following a let-up during and just after the War of 1812, to 280,652 in 1830. It is worthy of note that the increase of 60 per cent in population from 1770 to 1780 was the greatest in New England except in the state of Maine; and upward of 113 per cent from 1780 to 1790, exceeding that of any other of the seventeen states.

From 1830 the ascent sharply flattened, as shown on the diagram (Fig. 4), until the population numbered 355,956 in 1910. Then for

thirty years the population was practically at a standstill, numbering in 1940 only 359,231 souls.

From the diagram it will also be seen that for 180 years, from 1760 to 1940, the decennial increases of population may be divided into six stages: the first 25 years exhibiting a moderate growth checked by the numbing effects of the Revolutionary War; the second a marked rise for 45 years hindered somewhat by the retarding influences of the War of 1812; the third a lessened rise for 40 years marred by a downward plunge in the number of sheep and the panics of 1837 and 1857; the fourth a stationary population for 20 years during which the panic of 1873 had its baneful influence; the fifth a returning rise though of small moment for 20 years at a time when the opening of World War I was in the offing; and sixth a recurrence of stagnation for 30 years during which the World War and its aftermath, and the great depression with its threat of a new World War, had their part in making of Vermont a static region in contrast with its fifty years of dynamic growth between 1780 and 1830.

In the beginning transportation, though primitive, was a handmaiden to the settler, bringing to him his simple needs from the outside world and taking away in exchange his surplus products — pot and pearl ashes, logs, lumber, cereals, provisions, animals, copperas and maple sugar — to markets whence they were shipped for domestic consumption in other states and Canada and in response to urgent calls from overseas.

The coming to the Union of improved means of transportation, after 1825, helped the Vermonter to dispose of weightier products that otherwise would have lain fallow, such as marble, granite, slate and manufactures on a moderate scale; but such means were at the same time instrumental in luring from his fireside his children yearning for the better opportunities offered at the seaports and their neighboring factory towns, in rapidly growing inland cities and in the more promising agricultural West. In balance the latter influence won, aided as it was by the effects of a declining sheep culture and the approaching exhaustion of soil and forest in the 1830's and later.

In general the situation is well portrayed in the following extract from the federal publication to which reference has been made: "In 1900, as compared with 1790, New England showed a greater decrease in the size of family than the other sections of the original area; the proportion of families having 8 members was less than one-half as great in 1900 as in 1790, and the proportion having 10 members less

than one-third as great in the later year. In the state of Vermont the proportion of families having 10 members dropped to one-fourth . . . The progress of the nation from 1790 to 1900 has involved far-reaching social changes, during which the inhabitants have gathered from farm and frontier into densely settled industrial centers."* As late as 1800 two-thirds of Vermont's inhabitants are said to have been under 26 years of age and even more than that in earlier years, a figure that ever since has been steadily mounting until now the state is looked on as a home for elderly people.

Throwing a vivid light on the uphill plight of the Vermonter beginning a hundred years ago is the accompanying map prepared in 1940 (Fig. 5), showing the areas in the state in which the lands are definitely unsuited to agriculture, and those in which farm properties are, generally speaking, poorly adapted to agricultural use. Their aggregate area, including urban, recreational and swamp lands, is 56% of the total. Thus it is that but 44% of the state, or less than one-half, is usable for the winning of a reasonable livelihood from the land.

It should be noted that the counties possessing the larger percentages of rurally useful land areas are in the main in the state's northern half — Grand Isle, Orleans, Chittenden, Franklin, Orange, Addison, and Caledonia; two only, Essex and Washington have less than the average for the state, of which the latter's is but slightly so. In a word it is in that section that agricultural pursuits have been in the forefront. Except in the instances of Orange and Addison counties, their position in order of population has been upward or at the worst static, owing to the growth of their eight industrial centers which hold nearly two-thirds of the total population of the state's fourteen urban communities of 2500 or more according to the 1940 census. Had it not been for its urban growth between 1930 and 1940, the state's rural loss in that period would have made for the state a much worse showing than its net decennial decrease of 380 to 359,231 in 1940. It is also to be noted on the map that the fertile areas follow the streams and shores of lakes, there inviting both settlement of population and its means of transportation. In fact it was the coming of the railroad that accentuated this trend from the infertile uplands, ill-served by means of movement in and out.

It is not to be wondered at that Vermont, taken as a whole, has not

* Bib. Ref. 95, p. 99.

profited in a material sense from advances in the art of transportation since the coming there of the steamboat in 1809, the first through line of railroad in 1849, the motor car in 1897–1900, the airplane about 1910 and the pipeline in 1941.

Two centuries of primitive means of movement from 1609 to 1809, followed by a century and a third of modern means down to the present day, have in the end, therefore, been unable to bring material prosperity to a state, isolated as it is from contact with the sea and meagre within its borders of long-lasting natural resources for sustaining and promoting human life. Its one possession in which it is rich beyond compare, its beauty, yet lies fallow and in need of protection and enhancement in the interest of the state and nation. Transportation in the future may perhaps save Vermont from the doldrums, by making its cultural and recreational areas, if and when suitably developed, more accessible by air, and its historic waters along the western border more useful without injury to their beauty. An aging and stationary population thus may be given new life.

Bibliographical References: Nos. 2, 13–17, 27, 36, 57, 59–63, 71, 85, 91, 93, 95, 97.

MIDDLEBURY SKETCHES

III — BROKEN SHOE

By Robert Davis

INSIDE the glass of the front window, in a varnished-pine cubicle of an office, a trim figure of twenty, a fuzzy chrysanthemum head of curls surmounting a yellow sweater, was answering the telephone and writing down orders at the same time. She was more than enough to fill the venturesome eye of the young man outside. It was, however, the lettering on the window that riveted my attention.

THE WALTER JEWETT FAMILY INC.
Tri-State Farm Machinery
Hamilton Tractors
Slavonia Milking Equipment
Snow-White Washing Machines
Life-Long 24 Hour Service On Any Machine Bought of Us
Telephone 500, Day or Night

My uncle Gideon and a loose-jointed man in patched overalls came out of the side door just then. We cranked up the old car and moved along to the next errand.

"Makes an unusual sort of sign, don't it?" I remarked. "An Incorporated Family. I don't think I ever heard of a firm named just like that."

Uncle Gid puckered his brows. "You mean Wally's, I suppose? There's quite a story back of that name. That tow-headed girl in the office is behind it. Sometime I'll tell you. Too long to start on now."

Perforce the matter rested there. Uncle Gideon is an out-and-out man. But as I visited the cross-road paint and hardware trade up to the Canadian border and back, during the ensuing fortnight, that curious firm designation fluttered across my mind more than once. An Incorporated Family!

It was after one of Aunt Elly's pick-up Sunday night suppers — which featured two kinds of preserved fruit, two kinds of pie and

three sorts of cookies — while the women were washing the dishes, and Uncle Gid and I were tilted back on the piazza, that I hesitatingly pronounced the words Family Incorporated, with a questioning inflection.

"Yep, that' so," the old man muttered. "I never did get to tell you about the Wally Jewetts, did I? Well, so far as my memory goes, boy and man, in no place and at no time, no one has ever occupied just the sort of position that Walter Jewett occupied in this town and county, twelve years ago. He was unique. You might say that he was the professional best-friend and confidential agent of every person of the community who had succeeded in shedding his milk teeth. Yep, he was."

"Walter was obliging, clever, and careful. Never in a hurry, he was a born negotiator. He had sense enough to accept a half loaf if he see that he couldn't get a whole one. He could understand the other man's side of a quarrel, and he sympathized with both sides, which made him a good arbitrator. On top of everything, he was a square-shooter."

"If Walter'd had a legal education he'd have been a more-than-ordinary lawyer. If he'd wanted to go in for politics, he could have had any office in our county, maybe in the state. But he seemed contented to rustle around, brimming over with the milk of human kindness, doing good turns, right and left."

"Walter had a motto that appealed to us home-folks. 'There ought to be some man in every town that a boy or girl can go to, no matter what he has done.' And he sincerely tried to be just that."

"People imposed on him. Naturally they would. If someone died, or was injured at a distance, it was Wally they sent to get the body or the sufferer. If a woman didn't receive her alimony check, she'd send Wally. If a boy was being discharged from the state reformatory, it was Wally who must meet him and get him a job."

"Once a simple-minded fellow got arrested for peddling lottery tickets. Wally stood guarantor, and obtained a suspended sentence. Old Miss Higgs got into a romantic correspondence with a party through a matrimony bureau and Wally saved her from being sued for breach of promise. He was quick to sense the truth of them things. The number of boundary disputes, and fights between heirs, and misunderstandings between husbands and wives, and parents and children, that he settled around a pot of tea on a supper table would make a list as long as your two arms."

"There was also a more sinister kind of events that Wally got drawn into. Them that are on the shady side of the law. You catch what I'm aiming at? In any locality, when you add up the years, there are quite a lot of scandalous and disgraceful affairs that have to be hushed up. But Walter was not inquisitive. He aimed to be a good neighbor, not a reformer. Secrets were safe inside him. Wally knew all the skeletons in our closets. A good citizen, even in Vermont, has to swallow a lot."

"But while the role of being Professor Fixit afforded entertainment and a sense of self-importance for Wally himself, it brought in no cash money. And he had a hearty, two-fisted wife and three children in school. And they enjoyed eating, three times on every week day."

"Wally had inherited that little notion store at the corner of Bakery Lane and College Street. He had let it run to seed. He was almost never there. The stock had dwindled off. Burdocks grew in the yard. Rags stopped the broken panes. Folks knew that he would be busy somewhere else and didn't even try the door."

"Wally's family lived in Mary's old home, she who was Mary Ketcham, his wife, a good-enough, Civil War house. But her house, too, was on the down grade, paint scaling off, clapboards loose, shingles missing. Three men employed at the sawmill boarded with Mary. Like that the children had enough to eat. But Wally was so taken up with being the accommodating handy-man of the community that he found precious little time to work for his own flesh and blood. You understand, I'm not trying to exaggerate this side of his character, but his charity certainly operated everywhere except at home."

"This was the situation when Sally's broken shoe threw Wally for a fall. It knocked him about senseless to find how far he had gone on the road to shiftlessness."

"He was driving to Bridport, to unmake a horse trade in which Ebbin Swett had been stuck. The road to Bridport passes the grammar school. The children were outdoors, during recess, playing cops and robbers. That is, all were playing except one half-grown girl."

"A sole of her shoe was loose. She would hobble a few steps, but the sole would flap and trip her. She stood to one side, watching the others. Always sympathetic and observant, Wally noticed her as he drove along."

"That girl was his Sarah. He gagged and stopped. His girl could not play like the other children because her father wasn't enough of a

provider to buy her a whole pair of shoes. His little Sally, the most gallant, the smartest, the prettiest, sweetest creature under God's sun, was being looked down on by the wops and the polocks, because her father was a no-good."

"Walter drew to the side of the road, his soul in a turmoil of shame and self-scorn. His mind seemed to penetrate the years ahead. His little Sally was being denied her fair chance. She was standing on the sidelines of life, envying girls who had real fathers. Her father was only Walter Jewett, everybody's good thing, the town busybody, everybody's boob, everybody's unpaid errand boy."

My Uncle Gideon paused at this point to blow his nose and refill his cob pipe.

"I will not presume to analyze Wally's thoughts while his forehead rested on the steering wheel of his car. But it was a man of different mettle who backed, turned, and drove into his own yard."

"He told Mary the whole story, withholding nothing. His overwhelming shame and self-disgust. He let her see how completely he despised himself. He stood revealed, in his vanity, his hunger for popularity, for self-importance. You can imagine that he was pretty emotional."

"Then Walter did a second thing, wiser than he guessed. He begged Mary's help. And if there is anything that will lift a good woman out of herself, it is to feel that she is needed, that her man, on his knees, asks her help. They both shed a few tears, but they were not the tears of pain or despair. They were the tears that baptize the birth of a new soul in a weak man. I'm not sure but that they prayed a little, Mary being that kind of woman. It was as though they were being married again, and into a closer partnership."

"That afternoon Wally stayed home and added up his assets. On the first line he puts down five persons, the three kids, Mary and himself, all in prime health, a tight little corporation, cemented together by an indissoluble love. They still owned their home, free and clear, which was a lot. After that his assets were imponderable — the chief being the volume of good-will toward himself which he had been building up for years."

" 'We are going to catch up on the pay-off,' he said to Mary at supper. 'I have been doing the dirty chores, unsnarling the tangles, protecting the reputations, guarding the secrets — innocent ones, and a lot which are not so innocent — of this town of Middlebury, for a long, long time. Beginning today I start cashing in. I'm going into

business for myself, for you, Mary, and for the kids. And what I've learned must be made to give me a boost at every step of the way, or I'll know the reason why. It may not be flawless, morally, as I mean to practice it, but I don't feel any too proud about myself at this present moment. And I'm through being everybody's good thing.' "

"At that time the best opening in the Champlain Valley was in farm machinery. The price of milk was climbing and farmers were feeling out the possibilities of power tillage. The major part of the implement business was then being done by old Calvin Dingleman. But he had accumulated plenty to last out his days. He was getting fat and bleary-eyed. Dyspepsia had made him grouchy. What was more to the point, Wally had put his special gifts as an arbitrator at Cal's disposal upon no end of occasions."

"Walter waited until Cal's employees had left the warehouse, and the old man was about to draw down the top of his desk. Wally sat and waited. Dingleman peered over his glasses."

" 'What's on your mind, Son?' "

" 'Ding, I'm going into business. Will you give me a leg up?' "

" 'Sure, Wally. Anything in reason. But you know I never endorse notes.' "

" 'I want you to give me your Tri-State Agency.' "

"The old man came down in the seat of his chair with a bump, and roared, 'What?' "

" 'You have three agencies, Ding,' continued Wally evenly. 'Tri-State is the least profitable. I want you to turn it back to the company, and at the same time to recommend me as your successor.' "

" 'Have you gone nuts, or what?' The purple was congesting Ding's neck and ears. His blood pressure was high."

" 'What I am asking is reasonable. Right now, you have more business than you can handle. I have done a lot of favors for you. Now for the first time, I am asking you to do something for me. I want a chance to earn my living. And what's more, I mean to get it.' "

"Ding's indignation finally found adequate words. 'Chase yourself out of here, you pup. Me give you an agency. Phooey! Scram before I lose my temper.' "

"Wally did not budge. In fact he was smiling to himself, like a man with a straight flush."

" 'I'm going to have that agency, Ding, do you understand? Are you going to force me to do something nasty?' "

" 'Shut up, and get out,' the old man exploded. 'There will never

be anything for you around here. I want to go home. Get out. Don't talk any more.' "

"Walter's voice was low. 'I was with you on Lincoln mountain, that night, three years ago, when you hit old man Allen. I have never opened my mouth, even to my wife. But . . .' "

"Ding's lip drew away from his teeth, and his fingers reached toward Wally's throat, clutching. 'So that's the kind of a blackmailing cur you are. You come here, talking of friendship. I'll see you in hell before I give in an inch. That's your answer. Try it on, and see what you get.' "

"The quality of Wally's voice did not waver. 'I'm going to have that agency, Ding. You don't need it. I do, bad. I helped you wash the blood off the bumper that night, didn't I? No one knows but me, no one need ever know. Did you think I'd forgotten? What a way to spend your last years. In prison. Your money will do you no good, there. Remember the blood on the bumper, and the hair. The warrant is still out for the hit-and-run driver who killed old Allen. No one knows but me. I must have that franchise. You don't need it, you have two better ones. And what a way for Calvin Dingleman to pass out. Rich and respected but in jail for life. Do you remember the grey hair on . . .' "

"The old man extended his forearms upon the desk. His forehead dropped upon them. Under his breath he was cursing steadily. He stopped, and shivered. The face that he finally raised to Wally was nothing but the parchment-white mask of a scared old man."

" 'You win,' he whispered hoarsely. "I'll write the letter tomorrow.' "

"Wally needed working capital but did not anticipate difficulty in securing it. He asked Nathan Petty for three thousand dollars on an unsecured note, and got it. At 4 per cent, too. Petty is president of our bank, but this was done outside, a personal loan."

"In securing his capital, as in getting the Tri-State agency, Wally exercised an extra-commercial pressure. It was a good-enough business for Squire Petty, but it wasn't exclusively business, if you catch what I mean. It tied up with something that had gone before."

"You may know Nathan Petty, but you don't know his old woman. Her tongue will draw blood at ten yards. And is she strict? And high-hat about her sinlessness? Also she has heart attacks that scare the Squire stiff."

"Some years before this, the Pettys' son, young Nate, went to the

city. His position in the city bank didn't pan out, and he found himself on the sidewalk. But the youngster was cocky and wouldn't come home with his tail between his legs. He made up his mind to acquire some of the quick and easy money that the story books talk about. Instead of money, however, he acquired some smooth friends. A blonde lady in particular."

"The old Squire heard echoes of it, but his wife was in the midst of one of her worst heart attacks just then. He didn't dare tell her of young Nate's entanglement, much less leave her to go and straighten it out. He did what everyone did in those days. He sent the diplomatic and obliging Wally Jewett."

"Wally seems to have tracked young Nate and this blonde from bar to bar, and from hotel to hotel, and eventually to have caught up with them on the ferry boat en route to a Jersey marriage. Wally worked fast. He told young Nate, who was three sheets in the wind, that his mother was dead and that it would be unspeakably bad taste to go through with a wedding while his mother lay unburied, got him to bed with sleeping powders, telephoned the old Squire, put the lady on a train for Chicago with five hundred dollars in her pocket, after she had signed a general release, and brought young Nate home as soon as he was sobered off. Pursuant to the normal course of events, within six months the son married a nice suitable girl here in Shoreham, and is now manager of the cooperative creamery. And to this day old lady Petty has never heard the truth. They say she is purer than filtered spring water."

"At the time of young Nate's adventure the squire had hinted that he'd back Wally when he wanted to set up for himself. Howsoever, he did balk some at only getting four per cent interest, instead of his usual eight. But I mustn't give you the impression that prosperity came to Wally on a platter, all roasted and ready to eat. He made his way, but he had to fight for it. We Vermont farmers don't have any too much money, and we do have quite a sales resistance. The farm implement men who were already in the field, especially old Cal Dingleman, weren't going to let an outsider horn in without a God-awful tussle."

"Many a night, driving home through the snow and rain, Walter'd be ready to quit. He'd think of all the cosy taverns where they'd let out a whoop of welcome just to see his face in the open door. He'd be leg-weary enough to sleep standing. You see he'd never been trained

to concentrate on one job. Beyond that, to save money, he'd even given up tobacco."

"But at such times he'd reach into the pocket of his car, and take out that shoe of Sally's, the one with the broken sole, and feel the holes in it as he drove along, and decide to make just one more call. He kept Sally's shoe with him to buck him up when he got low in his mind."

"His first big order was from the state farm, when they installed power machinery. The committee of the legislature on state institutions was composed of three members, two of whom Wally had helped to elect. Also, his was honestly the low bid. The family celebrated that order by going to Rutland and buying shoes, felt slippers, rubbers and rubber boots, for all five, and a gallon of ice cream. They took the cream home, put on their night clothes, and all sat in one bed eating it. Perhaps I've already said that they were great hands to do things together, and take their pleasures as a unit."

"Although Wally had good material, and the price and servicing were right, there was a psychological undercurrent to his sales, during those introductory years. They were not entirely commercial, if you catch what I mean. There was always something that did not appear on the surface, that did not meet the eye, as it were."

"Take my own case as an example. Mine was typical of dozens of others. There was no undue pressure, but that push-over of an intangible was forever in his favor. With prices and quality the same between him and two or three other dealers, that imponderable was the deciding argument in his favor. Walter had something on every mother's son of us."

"I needed a milker, what with my rheumatism and the unreliability of hired help. Wally called with his catalogues and specifications, all correct. We was walking back and forth behind the barn. 'I haven't been out here, since the day of the big deer hunt,' he said slow and meaningful. He didn't say another word, just that. 'The day of the deer hunt,' he gave me a straight look. We both understood."

"That reference fetched everything back. Four years previous, we'd been plagued by deer, in the young corn. Five acres I had to plant over twice. The Jones boys, who live next door, was bothered the same way. Out of season or not, we decided to have a go at the critters. We did, at two o'clock one morning, and at daybreak four dead deer were stretched out behind my barn."

"As the daylight was getting stronger, what did we see but Mike Hazard's car heading up my driveway. But just as he was slowing down, a second car pulled alongside him. It was Wally, Wally shouted to Mike, facing us and talking very distinct. 'Hop in, Warden, don't waste a second. There's three city fishermen working Red Squirrel Brook. I was chasing you. Make it fast, Warden, and I'll have you back in an hour.' He repeated the last, about the hour, extra clear. 'You'll be back in an hour.' "

"When the hour was up, and Wally brought Mike back, still cursing because he had lost the city lawbreakers, five tons of loose hay were on top of those deer carcasses, the Jones boys had gone home, the guns were greased and clean, and I had my team hitched to the cultivator and was in the middle of the east lot."

"But he never mentioned it, directly or indirectly, except for that once, when he came to sell the machine, five years later. I bought his milking outfit. It has operated real good. You couldn't ask for a better one. You see, howsomever, what I mean by the intangible element in the transactions that we local farmers had with the Jewetts."

"With Wally working outside, and Mary's uncle, a retired blacksmith, in the shop, they did fairly well with the farm implements, but they took their big spurt ahead when Mary and Sarah, who was a yellow-headed little tomboy at the time, got the idea of demonstrating the washing machines. They'd bring them right into your kitchen, and do your week's wash, all hands sitting around, laughing and swapping women's talk, while the machine did the drudgery. That made a whale of a hit. Walter's wife, Mary, is one of the smartest, nicest women on top of the earth, and while she and the farm wives were teaching each other new crochet patterns, little Sarah'd have her mouth full of clothes-pins and be outside, hanging the wet wash on the line. More than that, Mary'd show our women what they could make to sell — jellies, preserves, maple sugar candy, afghans, crazy quilts, rag rugs, and such like — so's to pay the monthly installments. She's a driver, that wife of Walter's."

"It was Mary who got the city lady — Mrs. Macomber, who bought the old Gifford place — to build that roadside booth on Route Number Seven, and donate it to the Pin-Money Club. The one with the big red sign, 'The Farm Women of this Village Have Made These Lovely Things For You.' You'd be surprised at the number of nice folks who stop when they see that sign."

"One night Mary and Sarah was going home, dead beat. They'd

been demonstrating the washing machine since morning. On the road they met a French Canadian almost out of his head. He was a stranger who had just moved onto that abandoned Farnsworth place. His wife was in labor pains, too soon, and the baby wasn't placed right. The woman hadn't hardly any furniture or baby gear in the house."

"Mary turned around, stepped through the door of the house and took command. She had Sally telephone from a neighbor's, for Wally to bring out the wash boiler, and two pounds of coffee and five cans of beef soup from the store, and the packed-away box of baby clothes from their garret. Mary stayed right there for three days and three nights, until everything was hunky-dory with that Canadian woman. In a small region like ours things like that get to be known. We Vermonters kind of rise up to women like that. It didn't hurt Mary's business none, either."

Uncle Gideon took his feet from the veranda rail, eased his chair down to its four feet, and knocked the ashes from his pipe. "So that's the history of the Jewett Family Incorporated, leastways the high spots of it. Frank, the older boy, went to Providence two years ago and learned welding. Louis, the short one, has been at Worcester at an electrical school. Both of them served their apprenticeship with Mary's Uncle Joe, the blacksmith. At present all hands are at home and working."

My uncle was whittling a splinter into a toothpick, which he now employed.

I was ashamed to prod the old man further, but he had left me suspended in mid-air.

"But, Uncle Gid, where did the incorporated part come in?"

* * * * *

"Oh that! Well, Walter was always a great one for his family. Even in his misguided days, when he was traipsing around the continent, doing chores for others, he used to boast that there never was a woman and kids to hold a candle to his. Nothing was too good for them. That was one reason, maybe, why Mary was so long-suffering with his shiftlessness. She knew that, whatever his faults might be, he appreciated her to the full."

"Wally insisted that his business be made into a company. He said it would keep him steady. He said it would be easier to refuse to do favors or extend credit or endorse notes, if he could claim to be only

the employee of a corporation. And the family would take it better, when he was away overnight, or late to meals, if they knew he was working for their company. He holds 35 per cent of the capital stock, Mary has 30 per cent, Sarah has 15 per cent, and each of the boys has 10 per cent — I guess that makes the 100."

"Lawyer Sykes didn't charge anything for incorporating the company, because . . . Hell's Bells, that starts me off onto another story. But Walter had done him favors, too. The company today has seven thousand dollars undivided profits. It isn't so much the money Wally says, but those young ones have learned how to earn and what money is worth, which is immense. Why that yellow-headed girl Sarah can . . ." Aunt Elly's voice inside the sitting room was growing petulant. Did it mean nothing to us that the world's greatest comedian was about to go on the Sunday evening air? Or did I prefer Gideon's prattle?

Next morning I made an excuse to visit the Jewett office. In fact, during that winter I never passed through Middlebury without contriving some business inquiry that would take me to that spot. It wasn't until late in the spring, however, that Sarah consented to go to the movies with me. Even then we did not go alone. The Family, Incorporated, all attended with us.

But since Sarah and I have married, I have grown to like that sort of a family. It makes you feel that you belong to something big.

VERMONT BOOKSHELF

GREEN MOUNTAIN BOY: SETH WARNER. By Leon W. Dean. Illustrated by Charles Child. 242 pp. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1944. $2.00.

The most notable gap in the literature of Vermont history is in the sphere of books primarily intended for, and suited to the taste and needs of, young people. Such books as Daniel P. Thompson's *The Green Mountain Boys*, *The Rangers*, and *May Martin*, which thrilled youngsters of an earlier generation make no similar appeal to the youth of this age. Whoever has made the experiment of attempting through those old classics, and others similar to them, to arouse in our young people an enthusiastic interest in our history knows that such efforts generally fail. We need not discuss the reasons for this; it is sufficient to recognize the fact.

Professor Leon W. Dean, in his *Green Mountain Boy: Seth Warner*, has made a significant and welcome addition to the small list of books dealing with Vermont's early history suited to boys and girls of the present day. There is nothing in it with which students are not quite familiar. There is no significant addition to our knowledge of Warner's character or his achievements. But — and herein lies the merit of the book and its importance in meeting a great and challenging need — it does tell the old story in a manner that will not fail to catch and hold the interest of young people. Place it within the reach of any healthy boy or girl of teen age and watch the result: it will be read with avidity and manifest enjoyment.

As was inevitable, the book is as much the story of Ethan Allen as of Seth Warner, at least in its most adventurous and romantic part. The two men, so like in so many ways and so unlike in as many other ways, are seen best in juxtaposition, each serving as a foil for the other. There was a real need for the service Professor Dean has rendered with marked competence. Ethan Allen was flamboyant, spectacular, with a flair for publicity that amounted to real genius. He held the center of the stage always, not infrequently obscuring the equal or greater worth and merit of other men. Warner was in his life time, and has been in history, the victim of Allen's command of public at-

tention. To present fairly the heroic service of Warner, and its importance in the early struggles to establish securely the foundations of our little mountain State, Professor Dean has attempted with complete success.

In the judgment of their contemporaries it is very evident that, while Allen's admirers were boisterous and demonstrative and stridently vocal, Warner was held in greater respect. He was regarded as more dependable, of sounder judgment than Allen. This was shown when the Green Mountain Boys, in a free election, chose Warner, not Allen, as their Colonel. Allen was regarded as "tricky" and not always actuated by unselfish motives. That judgment Professor Dean adopts as his own. There is no belittling of Allen, of course, but Warner is presented as a man of quiet courage, unselfish in his patriotism and at all times trustworthy. Posterity has confirmed and strengthened the judgment of the two great leaders formed by their contemporaries.

This book should be found in every school library. It should be found, too, and especially, in every Vermont home where there are young people. There could not be a better gift book than this for Vermont youngsters.

JOHN SPARGO

LETTERS OF THE WAR OF 1812

in the CHAMPLAIN VALLEY

Edited by WILMOND W. PARKER

One hundred thirty years ago, our nation was at war with Great Britain. In that day, as in this, the men who filled the ranks were very normal human beings, even as you and I. The methods and tempo of war, however, were very different; and censorship, it would seem, was unknown! The four accompanying letters from one of the more articulate members of the 11th Regiment of Infantry speak for themselves. They were written while their author was on duty at Burlington, and at Sackets Harbor, N.Y., to Jonathan Whitney of Tunbridge. One wishes that the letters to Mr. Burnham and to the author's mother, with their full particulars, had been preserved; but from these four we can get a view of the war through the eyes of a common soldier whose service, at that period at least, involved plenty of monotony and little enough action.

*Concerning A. S. Cogswell, I have no information; he was apparently a resident of Tunbridge or vicinity. The 11th Regiment was part of the regular army as distinct from the state militia, and at a later period of the war included 1000 infantry and was accompanied by 100 mounted riflemen. All, apparently, were from the Green Mountain State. It was commanded by Col. Isaac Clark; and in the year following this correspondence was given the task of occupying the northern frontier of the state. Captain Edgerton may have been the Lebbeus Edgerton of Randolph who was later honored by Lafayette, and subsequently served as Lieutenant Governor; more likely, he was not, since Lebbeus Edgerton seems to have been associated with the militia, and not the regular army.**

In transcribing the letters, the originals of which are among the papers of Jonathan Whitney, I have endeavored to reproduce with accuracy the spelling and punctuation. The printed line, however, is a poor medium through which to show the spacing, and the eloquent dashes. The latter came in assorted lengths, and were both straight

* Lovejoy, *History of Royalton; The Vermont Register and Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1813. . . .* Published in Middlebury by Samuel Swift.

and curved, with each size and shape carrying its own connotation. Since Cogswell was, as he pointed out with pardonable pride, a good penman for his day, even though he wrote on his knee, under difficulties; and since his letters bespeak an education superior to that of the average infantryman of 1813, I have given him the benefit of any doubts in matters of spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing. In doing so, I have perhaps added to the clarity of the letters without doing violence to the spirit in which they were written. W. W. P.

Cantonment Burlington April 10th 1813.

Having leisure I now take up the pen to write you a few lines to inform you that I am tolerable well although I am threatened some with the fever and ague, — hoping that you and yours enjoy good health & prosperity. — And then proceed to give you the "passing tidings of the times."

Doubtless you have heard that the 9th, 21st, and 25th Regiments marched from here the 24th of March, destined for Sackets Harbor, it being rumored that Gov. Provost was on his way with a large force to attack that post. I have not heard particularly as our troops had arrived there but by the last western papers I understand that there is a very respectable force at Sackets Harbor, sufficient to defend the post against any emergency — also that Governor Provost has began a retrogade march with his force. When the Troops marched from here it was stated by Maj. Johnson that the 11th Regiment would march in 15 days from that time. The 15 days are expired, & more too. & it is not probable that we shall march from here very soon, at any rate we shall not go to Sackets Harbor at present, as the force now there is sufficient to defend the post — besides our Regiment is much scattered about, 2 companies being at Swanton, 21 Men at White Hall, and 87 at Champlain. — The piquet Guard stationed at Colchester Point was yesterday dismissed, and has returned to camp. The recruiting has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. The 11th Regt. will be more than full when all the recruits come in, — there will be nearly 140 in our Company. I understand that Col. Clarke has given orders not to have any more enlisted for this Regiment. The Troops are pouring in here every day like hail. — Between 2 & 3 hundred have came in this week belonging to the 20,000 Squad. Some from New Hampshire & some from Massachusetts, and we expect seven companies more in a few days.

Sunday April 11th, 5 p.m.

Today nearly a hundred & twenty more of the 20,000 party came in — also Lieut Heaton from Thetford with 42 new recruits for our company, which makes it 150 strong — We have to drill 3 or 4 hours every day — the weather has been very fine for several days. The snow is nearly all gone here and the ground is settled all about the village — and the road is all completely settled as far as Bolton.

I have sent you a letter before this but have never received any answer. I want that you should write to me as soon as you receive this.

There has been a great bluster about an Armistice through the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, & a cessation of hostilities is very much talked about — But it is my opinion that we shall have no cessation of arms, nor any peace settled this year, but perhaps I am wrong — You must write to me immediately, and I want that you should give me *your* opinion on the subject.

By what I have learnt respecting the election of a council of Censors I have no doubt but what the republican Ticket will be elected by a handsom Majority — To be a little quere I must tell you that I have the preference of being the best penman in Capt. Egerton's company — Give my compliments to all enquiring Freinds &c. &c. &c.

I shall write to you occasionally, and you must do the same by me.

yours, respectfully —

A. S. Cogswell.

J. Whitney, Esq.

* * * * *

Burlington April 25th 1813.

Dear Sir With much pleasure I acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 19th inst. by the hand of W. Miller, and inform you that I am tolerable well, hoping that these few lines will find you & Yours in good health & prosperity — Nothing worthy of remark has occured since I wrote you last. The Lake broke up about a week ago, and several Sloops have came in from White Hall the last week — In the course of the last week a number of men have came into the Camp to enlist but Col. Clark has orders not to enlist any more as the Regiment is more than full now. There has 2 or 3 hundred recruits come in belonging to this Regiment from the South part of the State within a few days — I understand by your letter that one of your sons has

been very sick, also as I have heard before that my Brother Wm. was sick but am extremely glad to hear that they are both getting better — I intended to have got a furlough for a few days to go home and see my Brother, but dont much expect to get one —

Yours as usual

A. S. Cogswell.

* * * * *

Sackets Harbor Saturday June 19th 1813.

Dear Sir, I now take up the pen to write a few lines to inform you that I enjoy a tolerable state of health and prosperity. We started from Burlington the 3rd of May and arrived here the 13th Inst. about noon.

For the names of the Towns we come through, the distances &c. also a statement of the encounter between the British & our men at this place on the 29th of May, I refer you to a letter I have written to Mr. Burnham. Our Battalion is encamped about one forth of a mile from the Lake, we are confined very close to the camp, not being allowed to go out for anything except water & provision except in extraordinary cases. Therefor you must excuse my poor writing as I have to take the paper on to my knees in my tent and scribble the best way I can, which is but very poorly. Could I give you an exact idea of the conduct of our officers generally I would do it, but should I attempt it I should fall far short of it. however there is a wide difference between their conduct now and last year. There is but one that really deserves the name of an officer, & that is Maj. Upham. The most of them are ignorant, willful, and ugly ill natured puppies — Capt Egerton I once took to be a pretty likely man — but how he has altered — he was once almost worshipped by his company, but now there is not one to ten that likes him, and some would not lift their hand to save his life. The old man certainly grows ignorant or willful very fast, and has got to be very austere. perhaps you will think me a strange fellow to write in this way — but it is a solemn truth, and could I have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you I could tell you things that you would certainly wonder at. There is a great speculation in this war, and the officers defraud the soldiers out of every cent that they can. This is the truth whether you believe it or not.

I heard yesterday that the British made an attempt to retake fort George, but were repulsed with some loss — Yesterday morning The *Lady of the Lake* brought in a British Schooner loaded with arms and ammunition &c. valued at 30,000 Dollars, and 18 prisoners, among which was a Lieut. & a Sergeant. — a few days ago a whole piquet Guard deserted & came over here, and brought a field piece with them — a brass six pounder —

There was a vessel launched here a few days ago, named P I K E, and it is stated that as soon as it is finished that an attack is to be made upon Kingston. Then we shall see some fighting without any doubt.

Great God, how swift our moments fly!
How great the thought that we must die!
How short's a day, a month, a year!
How fast our moments disappear!
O God above, Almighty power,
May we improve the present hour.
Devote ourselves to thee in time
And ripen fast for joys sublime.

If we go into action, that some must die is certain, but who God only knows — that I *shall* die, I know, either sooner or later, & I hope I shall be buried — Therefore if we have to fight I hope I shall go into the field with good courage and gain the victory. — I hear from fort George that Gen. Chandler & Gen. Winder are taken by the British — They quartered some distance from the Fort, and the British found out where they were, & took them without any resistance. I have heard firing on the Lake today, and expect that there is a battle with some of the British vessels. — I hear from Burlington that two of our Sloops of war have been sunk or taken, & that Champlain was taken.

I have heard today that the British mail was taken on the St. Lawrence, by which it was found that the Commandant at Kingston had wrote to a General officer at Montreal, that he had made one attack on this place, but was very much repulsed, that he was going to rally all his force, and make another attack this day, (the 19th) but it is now past 3 o'clock p.m. and no enemy appears yet & I guess we shall meet with no interruption today — It is probable if any attack is made it will be within 3 weeks (before the new vessell, Pike is completed.) If they are coming we care not how soon, I guess they will

see something that they never saw before, — there is several hundred *Green Mountain Yankees* here that want to see no better fun than to have the whole "Bulwark" make an attempt to Land. I dare say they would again meet with a defeat and great Slaughter. —

I am sorry to tell you that the Small Pox has been brought in here by a British deserter, and there is three sick with it now not far from our encampment. —

I have written to My Mother & Mr. Burnham, and by seeing their letters you will learn some particulars which I have not written in this — you will do me a great favor by writing to me as soon as you receive this letter — Give my compliments to all inquiring friends &c. &c. &c.

I am almost ashamed of such poor writing, but trust you will have the goodness to excuse it.

Yours Respectfully — A. S. Cogswell.

Jonathan Whitney Esq.

* * * * *

Cantonment Burlington July 17, 1813.

Sir Agreeable to your request I now take up the pen to inform you that I am well I hope that these few lines will find you and yours in the enjoyment of health & prosperity. As I have written a number of letters to Mr. Burnham, no doubt you have heard from here several times, therefore, I dispense with giving you a full detail of everything that has taken place since I have been here, but shall give you the outlines of every remarkable event that has taken place within my knowledge.

We have about 320 feet of Barracks 2 2/4 Stories high, 65 feet of which are occupied by the officers. There is 4 Regiments at this post (viz) the 9th, 11th, 21st, & 25th, in the whole between 12 & 16 hundreds men, & once in a while a new recruit comes in but the recruiting service I apprehend goes on very moderately.

We have some very good officers, but a large part of them are the most Ignorant and ugly parcel of rascals that I ever saw. — some of them are men tyrannical and swear worse than algerine pirates — There is three of our officers appointed to inspect the flour, but they do not know good flour from Lime, therefore our Bread has been for some time (to speak politely about it) most damnable poor stuff,

being made mostly of Rye flour, the other parts of our Rations are very good. except the whiskey —

Since the 25th November about 295 have died 76 of which have died out of the 11th Regiment. But there is but very few in the hospitals now and those are recovering very fast.

It is, however very sickly among the Inhabitants and a great number have died.

Besides our high Barracks, we have between 7 and 8 hundred feet of Low Barracks, in all about 11 hundred feet, but they are not nearly all occupied. There has lately been built an armory shop, for Artificers &c. &c. Also a block House, I expect for an Arsenal, or a Magazine.

The Guards here are as follows — Main Guard (around the Camp) 1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, and 48 Privates — Generals Guard, 12 Privates, 1 Sergeant, & 1 Corporal — General Hospital Guard, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, and 10 Privates. Wharf Guard 1 Corporal & 6 Privates. — Total 85.

Yesterday I heard from Plattsburgh by Henry Spicer a Drummer in the 6th Regiment of Infantry — He says there is three Regiments there the 6th, 15th, & 16th, in the whole about 25 hundred Men — Also that there is a number of Block Houses building, near the Lake, in the Village of Plattsburgh, but for what purpose he does not inform me — He also says that the sickness among the Soldiers has in a great degree abated, but that it is sickly among the Inhabitants there and at Champlain.

You must write to me the first and every opportunity that you have.

Give my compliments to all enquiring Friends, and oblige Yours,

With due Respect

A. S. Cogswell.

J. Whitney Esq —

Note: The following letter, furnished us by Mr. Harold G. Rugg, is not a part of the Whitney papers. Because its subject matter is similar and its date follows closely upon the letters printed above, it is appended. E. W. N.

Middlebury, July 30, 1813.

Honored Father

The day after we left your house we arrived in safety at our own. We had a good journey and found all well. The next Monday Saml

left here for New York and we have heard nothing directly from him since. — You knew of my appointment to Burlington, from which place I returned last evening.

Some part of the scene I witnessed there was more solemn than I ever saw before. I was permitted to go through the whole camp and view all their warlike preparations. It was said they have about 3500 troops on the ground. It was awful to see so many numbered for the field of battle. I had the inexpressible anguish of seeing one instance of death while I was on the ground. What made it more awful was, it was inflicted by human executioners. You will be surprised to hear that the victim was Mr. Zalmon Lord, son to the late David Lord of Norwich — He was about 26 years old — he married a daughter of Mr. Snow's by whom he has had four children. They now live in Thetford.

About a fortnight ago he deserted and set out for home. — he went off in the day time, about 6 hours after a soldier was shot for deserting. He took the road and travelled about 10 miles and was met by two belonging to the army who took him up and brot him back to camp. A court-marshal was called last Monday to pass sentence upon him, and to his awful astonishment it condemned him to be shot on tuesday at 12 oclock which was the next day. He heard his sentence just at night. It surprised him beyond description as he had not the least suspicions, nor fear of such a sentence beforehand. I arrived in Burlington on tuesday, just at the hour he was to have been executed. I heard at length was reprieved 'till the next day at 10 oclock.

I was permitted to visit him in the afternoon. I went into his prison and spent some time with him. No language can describe his feelings. He wanted to see his friends, and his wife and children. He requested me to mention their case in prayer. He said he called himself a great sinner, and if God were to cast him off he would do him no injustice. He said about 5 years ago he was under strong conviction, about a week, so that he was unable to work; but it wore off at length without leaving him any hope that he had experienced religion. After he received his sentence he spent the most of his time in prayer and in reading the scriptures. He said he felt the best when he was praying — he hoped the Lord would have mercy on him. Mr. Hascall, the Congregational Minister in Burlington had visited him several times, and he and Capt. Burnap procured his reprieve, and tried to obtain a pardon for him, but could not. When I left him on tuesday night he requested me to call the next morning before his execution, which

I engaged to do. The next morning I went to the prison about 9 oclock and found Mr. Hascall conversing with him. We tarried with him till he was taken out for execution, some part of the time we conversed with him, and some part of the time we gave him an opportunity for private prayer. He said he thought the sentence was just — that he hoped the Lord would have mercy on him — that he thought he could give himself up to God. A little before 11 oclock the 4th Regiment to which he belonged was drawn up and he was ordered out for execution. I walked on one side of him, and Mr. Haskall & Elder Haynes of Middletown on the other — he was conducted about 40 rods to his grave. His sentence was then read in the presence of several thousand — after which a short prayer was made, and we took our leave of him, for time, commending him to the mercy and compassion of God. He then had a handkerchief drawn over his eyes and tied back and was ordered to kneel. This he did and then prayed aloud "Lord have mercy on my soul! O Lord have mercy on my soul!" After repeating this a few times the guard fired upon him and he fell instantly and expired with but one or two feeble groans. Celas! ! ! He is gone to another tribunal. I hope the poor creature has found favor with God, although he could not obtain it from man. We should suppose such measures wo'd prevent desertions, but I was informed two made their escape after Lord was condemned.

Augt 4, 1813.

The mail went out last week before the above was written. I have another interesting event to mention.

A body of British was seen last thursday to sail from the Aisle of Man and on saturday they came to Plattsburg, and took and destroyed what public property they could find there. On monday their sloops sailed up before Burlington and commenced a cannonading upon the town, but lest they should come under the fire of our cannon they kept at a harmless distance. They at length passed Burlington 6 or 7 miles and took a sloop at Sh—— [worn off] having on board about 40 barrels of flour. It is said that 2000 of the British have landed at Constitution point 7 miles north of Burlington; but of this we are doubtful. We have nearly 4000 at B. and it presumed they will defend the place. Report states the number landed at Platsburgh to be 3000. They have the entire command of the Lake and they are sailing at pleasure, whenever they hear of plunder.

The public mind is considerably adjitated at the north—the Gov-

ernor is at Burlington; waiting if it sho'd be found necessary to call out the Militia. We hope the squall will soon be over and that our farmers may be permitted to improve this excellent weather to gather their excellent harvest.

We have been rather feeble since we returned. Betsey is somewhat unwell — we have weaned the babe — she is more afflicted with her inflammation. One eye is much worse than when we were at H. She has a severe relax, and has become very feeble. Dr. Smith made us a visit after we got home, and speaks encouraging of both the children. We are attending to his directions and hope they will do good. You will please to write me soon. You will be so good as to mention to Mr. Robert Turner that I have sent to Lansingburgh and got his account for cards. He has paid at several times $79.37

42.25

$37.12

Interest of the three months 12.12

Balance due $49.24

I hope he will make out the money shortly and send it to me. My health is better than it was. I have only time to add our affectionate regards to all. I remain your dutiful son

NATHL. KENDRICK

Maj. Samuel Kendrick.

Two gentlemen have just arrived here who left Burlington this morning and inform that the British have returned back.

II

The following letters, running from the period of the Embargo through the War of 1812, were extracted from the large collection of the papers of David H. Sumner, of Hartland, Vt. These papers are filled with a wealth of material relating to the navigation of the Connecticut River, lumber trading, merchandising, bridge and road building, etc. They have now been segregated and cataloged into the manuscript collections of the Society.

The editor has attempted to make a minimum of changes in these few published extracts. However, some were so difficult to read, that it seemed necessary to insert some punctuation and capitalization to create sentences within the letter. Some were mutilated, but it was thought worthwhile to include the readable portions. E. W. N.

Boston March 28.1808.

Dear Sir,

I have lately heard from Brookfield, and am informed my Father is very unwell. He has had several severe fits of the gout. They speak of him as being very low, but as not being considered dangerous — the remainder of the family are well and all friends in Boston. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you with Martha in Town this Spring. These times are well calculated for writing and receiving friends. — We have no kind of busines to do — everything is stagnated by the embargo — all the world seems against us. Have news every day of our Vessels being taken either by French, Spaniards or English men. — I have poor success in collecting of late, and thot of asking if you can with convenience send me some money by the 15 April. I then have a large payment to make — Your Pork remains unsold, and beans and Peas and everything — there is nothing to be sold. I should be very causious about trusting these times, and strive to collect — the docket at Worcester court has never been so full by many hundreds, as at last sittine of the Court and at Portland Court they adjourned without issuing any executions at all.

Yours afc.

Fra. A Foxcroft —

Sale of Ashes by Seth Wright for an account of David H & J. B. Sumner.

1809

March 1st Sold to D. Tounsend on a Credit of 60 days —

Certifct. No 392	3.3.3. 45		
	3.2.22.46		
	4.0.12.46		
	11.2.14.137		
	1.0.25		
	10.1.17. nett first sort 51/-		$ 88.43
" No. 392	4.0.0. 47		
	4.0.0. 45		
	4.0.24.46		
	12.0.24.138		
	1.0.25		
	10.3.25 Nett Second sort.. 46/-		84.20
No 392	3. 3. 16. 47		
No 502	4. 1. 20. 44		
	4. 1. 7. 46		
	12. 2. 15. 137		
	1. 0. 25		
	11. 1. 18 Nett Third sort 41/-		77.96
			$250.58

---- Charges ----

Deduct 22 hoops (?)		$1.22	
Storage 7 Casks 6 mo at 10¢ per mo	$4.20		
Storage 2 Casks 3 mo at 10¢ per mo	60		
		4.80	6.02
			$244.56

Mr D. H. Sumner, Boston April 28, 1809

Sir

In reply to your favor of the 24th Inst, we would observe your Recp was sold last Feb 7 on 4 months Credit @ 8, 10 & 12 dollars. Your ashes were sold agreeable to the annexed Acct of sales.

We have this week received very important news the substance of which is, that we have concluded a treaty; or in other words, the Order of Council are to be repealed on the 10th June — and our government are to raise the embargo at the same time. Also, that our government have red dispatches from France stating that Bonaparte has repealed his decrees as respects America — In consequence of this news all kinds of American produce has advanced very considerably — Pot Ashes are worth about $200 pr ton. Beef 10, 12 & 14 Dol. & all other kind of produce in proportion. We think Pot ashes will do much better than Pearl Ashes. We are respectfully

Yours

Seth Wright & Son

NB The sooner your Ashes come to market, the better.

Hartland — Vermont.

Dear Sir, In answer to Yours of the 7th I can say nothing Seartain as it respects the Price of Produce & Provisions. Will only observe that you, I presume, have no other way of Making remitance and therfor must take every kind of Produce & Provisions as long as you can and we must risk the sale. I think (Beans?) are preferable to Pease. Butter & Cheese if Got in soon will do something. Cheese, Good lots (?), may possibly fetch 8 Cents. Butter is about the same as when I sold the last lot. Beef I xpect will be rather dull. Pork is Generally the Best. All Produce Provisions &c will do Best that is market Early. The Horses will probably be here before You Receive this. The times are very difficult in deed and no Cash to be obtained at the Bank on the Best Paper for 2 Week pass. There has not been a Single Note discounted and never before was the (Instance?) known. It is apprehended By some that an Embargo will take Place at the meeting of Congress; if so, Produce Provisions &c will be poor property. The lord only knows what we shall do to pay on debts. You Can Judge of the Prospect of an Embargo as well as I.

Yours &c

Oct 20 — 1811 JsBS (James B. Sumner)

Westfield 15th Octr 1812

Friend Sumner

Sir, when Mr Fielding was at my house this Season I told him that I should be at Hartland this month. The situation of my family is such that it will not be possible for me to come. Their has been several families move out of this Country since the declaration of War & are moving dayly from the frontier Towns now. I have not as yet had an opportunity to dispose of my Beef at a fair price — was you Sir, to know the situation of the People in this Country, the necessity for every man to be on his post, I presume you would feel less impatient with me.

Yours Sincerely

D H Sumner Esq

Walter Stone

Swanton Camp 5th Novr 1812

Sir —

With respect — I take liberty to rite you from this place where we arrived ten day, ago under the Command of Bridgear Genl Jon Ormer — which gave grate (uneasiness?) to the smugglers, like wise to Colo Williamsons Regiment who had ben on this Station about two months on our arival. We had been very much engaged since our arival we have taken some goods and some cattle. Our duty is very hard at this time for want of men sufficient to Gard every passage into Canady by water and land, but, however, Colo Fifields Regement are very firm and make no Comptaint. Colo Williams and his adjutent are now on trial before a Cort martiel for Smugling. As for news we have known except Camp news. We understand thair is a few Indians on or near the line but thay have not been very hostile as Yet, tho it Gives uneasiness to the inhabitants near the lines on both sides. We hurd from Plattsburg by Majr Dana and understand the troops from Hartland on that Station are well. Our Company are all in Good helth — and Spirits and injoy them Selves Very well in all things except one — which I conclude you must have heard before this time: our Capt has not proved the man we had hopes to afound him, which is the only diferculity we have had; but here I must mention we have a Lieutenant and Ensign that are very much respected by every soldier. We have received the donations of our Hartland friends in Cheese from Plattsburg by Majr Dana, who we feel under obligation to as well as the Generous in-

habitants of Hartland, who it Seams had not forgot their friends tho absent. Then I must mention altho we were informed by Sargant Healy that our part of the Butter and Cheese was Carried to Plattsburg and requested him to send for them. We could not Get liberty from Capt Dodge to go after it but received for answer from him that it would do them as much Good as it would us. Here Sir permit me to solicit your friendship. I understand our Government are making provisions to raise Town Troops for another campain. Feeling firm in the Cause and having some Confidance in my Self from trying a Soldars life a second time, feel willing to engage — in Case I ever be put on a fair (pinacle?) with my equals. Sir however painful it is to ask favors — Yet I cant forbair therefore wish your friendship in recommending me to the appointment of Captain. I profess I have frinds in Hartland that will assist you with thair names al tho I am not present. Call on the Select men and Civil Athority if you please — you will receive a line from a part of the officers noncommissioned officers and soldars. Your assistance Sir will much oblige your friend and humble Sevt

Respectfull —

Wm. Sweetser

Elihu Luce Esqr —

Head Quarters Swanton Falls Novr 6th 1812

To the Hon! Elihu Luce Esqr Member of the Legislature now in Session in the State of Vermont.

Sir we the under Signed understanding that Wm Sweetser is desirous to obtain a Captain's Commission in the Troops contemplated to be raised by this State for a futer Service, we feel willing to State from our former and present acquaintance together with two Months actual Service with him in the present Campaign, that we think he is a Man of Good Morals and Conduct and equal to do honor to himself and Country in Command — in a Company of Vermonters —

Respectfully Yours —

Augustus C Howard	Americus Arnold Lieut
Nathan Young	Gam!! Arnold Ensign
David Huggins. Jun.	Waldo Tucker 1st Sergnt
William Ashley	John D Willard
George Plumb Jun	William Morison

William Marcy junr	Erastus Cady	Corprels
Moses Tun	Samuel Blood	
Jas Ewet	Elihu Lyman	
Jonathan Hodgman	Joseph Pinney	Privets
Harry Kimball	Homer Whiting	
Gustavous Meriam	Samuel Winstin Junr	
Jacob Heath	Stephen Waterman	

Heman Sprague

(Note:) Esqr Luce will Charge the Postage to me of Two letters in case he receives them by mail

Wm. Sweetser

Shamplain 18th November 1812.

Dear Sir I have to Inform you for the Information of your self and the purpos of your informing all of my friends that after I left Hartland on the 12th october I proced to Burlington and on the 17 our Regiment Crossed the Lake to Plattsburg where we encamped untill the 13th Nov., when we started for what is called Great Sharzee, where we arive after being out three Days and two Nights. Yesterday we proceded to this place. We arived here about Mon and about three oclock General Chandler arived with the regular army from plattsburg which was heretofore Commanded by General Bloomfield who is now Sick. The rear of their army past to Day about Noon. The Sitizens of P(?) Plattsburgh and Sharzee have volunteered their Servarses as Poinires [pioneers?] to Cut and Char out the road for us to Montreal. Colonel Fifield arive from Swanton with his regiment yesterd at this yesterday Colonel Martindal arive here with his regiment today. General Pettet arive here yesterday and this after Noon he reviewed his Brigade of New York Militia and the furthers of our Encampment is Not more then a Mile & a half from the (?). The regular troops Last Night took two of the British Soldiers Sad to be sentries. To Day Colonel Clark wen out with out any escort and Stragled over the Line and met a woman who observed that he was an american officer and told him that he must look out for he had got within gunshot of the Indian picket Guard. He returned unhurt and I understand that he lays out to take the picket to Night. General Dearborn arive here this Morning in good health and Spirits. It is Stated that he left his army of three thousand Behind which I suppose to be in Plattsburgh. ToNight it is Expected

that thay will be here to morough. The army at this place we suppose will March over the line to morough morning. The pioners are reddy to go on Erly in the morning. The armies at the westward Commanded by Harrison and Smith attacked upper Canady at two Diferent important posts on the Sixteenth and yesterday the Eastern troops Made an attack and to-morough I suppose from the best information I can (grist?) our army will moove over and proced to Montreal. I have and opinion that their will be some warm work here. Give my love to all who profes to be friends to our Liberties and remind them that I whish that thay wood not only say but Do. We want them to Come on here and see how soldiers live. I have not Slept in abed but one Night Since I went from Burlington. I Sleep right on the Grown with my soldiers Cold or hot wet or Dry right in the roads or open fields like heros and patriots for the sake of our Country our fathers Mothers wives and Childeren and for Milions yet an born. Remember dear friend that if I Die that I Die in my Countries Caus. I remain your Friend &c. N.B. wrote a letter to my wife yesterday and through a mistak I told her that the regular troops were Commanded by Gen Pettet in Std of Chandler. I wish you wold take pains to inform my friends as I have not an oportunity to write to all CHARLES LIVERMORE

Pettit

N.B. I... last even...g .... is not Quite Correct Since writing the above no... I have Got the information Hirein Enclosed Correctly, I believe, as it respect the troops here.

Shamplain 17 Nov AD 1812

Dear Sir I have to inform you that I Marched from Plattsburg to what is Caled Sharzee & this Morning we marched to Shamplain. Our troops consisted of the first & Third Regiments of Vermont Militia. Colonel Edward — Fifield has just arived here from Swanton with about five hundred of Militia. Newyork Militia are in this place. General Pettet has this after Noon about 3 oclock March the regular forses (which ware Stationed at Plattsburgh under the Command General Bloomfield who is now sick) through this town for Montreall and we Expect that he has encamped over the loins to Night according to the best information I can (grist?). Generals Vannan — (?) & Hanson's armies attacked upper Canady in two Diferent places yesterday. The Estern army attacked to Day and we Expect that this Northern army

Pettet

will make an attack tomorrough the event God only knows but I hope favorable to the american Caus. Remember my love to all Enquiring friends. I have but a moment to write this according to the information I have recd. I am in hast and must forbare to write. Respecfully yours, &.c. I am in Good health and Spirits at present
Samuel A Fielding — Chs Livermore

Hartland (Vt) 24th June 1813

Sir

Agreeably to your request, I transmit to you by tomorrow's Mail a detale of the domestic concerns that relate to your Affairs at home. The horses were taken to Mr. Geo Grow's on the evening of your departure. The Small Field is hoed & planted with beans entirely. The Corn in the large Field is hoed with the exception of a few rows & tomorrow I expect to put ashes on a part of it. The Beans I think yet too small to hoe, but Shall attack them on Monday, at which time I hope I Shall put Ashes round All the Corn in both fields. The Corn in the smallest piece since sowing the Ashes has come on *beyond a parallel!* that in the *late Aquisition* looks black, & promising beyond my expectation. Capt Campbell left toun this day for Boston with an expectation of arriving there on Monday next 9 A.M. About 800 Troops pass'd the Village to day on their way to Burlington, — their Appearance was truly martial, & their observance of order & decorum reflected honor upon themselves & their officers. Mrs. Sumner & the family are in health — Mrs. S. has been very much delighted to day from Seeing the Troops, of which she had a full view, both as they pass'd near the house & as they went up the hill beyond Mr. Z Lull's. The Fire has been particularly attended to in John's department & undoubtedly so at the house. Should there be any thing which you omitted to mention previously to your leaving town you will please enform me & return Mail. The Quarterly return from the Post Office was made out on Sunday under the Instruction of M. Spooner, & forwarded by Monday Post.

I am Sir Respectfully

David H Sumner Esqr
[Boston]

Yr Obligd Friend & Hbl Svt
JW (Jonathan Warner)

Whereas Joseph Moffit of Chester in the Province of Lauren Canada, for assisting Benjamin Putnam in his Escape from Quebec,

where he had been confined as an Hostage by Order of the British Government, has been obliged to flee from his home, & seek Refuge in the United States, & has left his Family in a distressed situation — Therefore we the Subscribers hereby engage to pay said Moffit the several Sums annexed to our names for the purpose of removing his Family to a place of safety — —

Names	Sums	Names	Sums
Hartland Aug. 20th 1814 —			$. 6
Joseph Amsden Jr. paid/	$0,50	Benjamin Putnam Paid	4.-..
Joseph Livermore *paid*	50	Wm S. Ashley (*paid*)	1.-..
F. Sturtevans (?) paid —	50	Phin. Killam (paid) —	..50
Charles Willard Paid	" 50	Elisha Gallup (paid) —	..50
Stephen Marcy Paid	$ 1 . 0	Jacob Weed — (paid) —	..50
Marston Cabot paid	50	D.H.&J.B. Sumner (paid) —	2.-"
Lemuel Gilson paid	50	Saml R. Dudley (paid) —	".20
Jonathan C. Regen paid	50	Barney Richmond (pd) —	50
Charles Jenison paid	25	Peter Gilson — paid	75
Hugh Campbell Paid	50		

Burlington June 4 1814

Dear Sir — I have not yet . . . the papers, necessary to . . . procure the money . . . who were Soldiers, lost . . . have not yet put them in ma . . . will, if you conclude to Lend them, . . . Direct them to me at Plattsburgh, as . . . We are under Marching Orders for that Post, and, expect, if the transports arrive to Embark tomorrow. The 15 . . . 16th & 22nd Rgts. together with the Artil . . . y Embarked yesterday. There will be no Troops left here but invalids, the Greater part of whom, were wounded at La Cole. It is truly a melancholly sight to . . . so many maimed persons; some . . . lost a leg; others an arm — . . . a greater proportion . . . limbs, in that Battle, than . . . known, perhaps, before, in So . . . an affair. . . . no news stirring, except that . . . arrested, and ordered to . . . there to end his Days. . . . mighty fallen"! Napoleon [Bon]-aparte, was possessed of many virtues, but ambition has hushed their Dictates, and plunged him into Ruin. But his name will live forever. It must be consoling to him in his present circumstances to reflect that he has done Some good in the world The Downfall of Bonaparte inculcates the melancholly lesson, that human greatness is but a shad-

dow, and that the most exalted may fall by their Ambition. — Ambition has . . . the greatest fault of Bonaparte; . . . he been contented with reigning . . . might have been . . . Day of his Death, & his . . .ly might have succeeded.

Respectfully yours

Samuel E. Albro

P.S. — A B . . . Sailors & marines have arrived.
Give my Respects, if you please, to your family — Reme . . .

Upper left hand corner of addressed portion carries a post-office cancel stamp: Burlington, Vermont around the inside of an oval, with June 4 written in. The letter is badly mutilated. Editor.

Plattsburgh June 20. 1814 —

Dear Sir — We have just received intelligence of an affair having taken place, on the 19th between a part of Gen. Smith's Brigade, (which have been stationed . . . Champlain, abo(ut) 20 miles from this post) and the enemy, near the Line. The result is not yet certainly known but it is rumored, however, that the enemy have suffered a Severe loss. We anxiously wait a Confirmation of this highly pleasing intelligence. A Heavy firing is this moment heard in the direction of the *Isle aux noix* — Our Fleet . . . at the last account, about six miles from . . . — Something of an interesting nature, will I presume, shortly transpire.

The Artillery at this post, have this moment marched for the North — The 5th & 6th Infty. are ordered to hold themselves in complete readiness, to march at *five minutes notice.*

I impatiently await the moment when we shall be Ordered to march; to meet the foe, and to Conquer — Conquer we shall, if *we* meet them. I frequently indulge in reflections of no very pleasing nature — My Friends are far from me — My prospect of seeing them appears at so immence a distance, that melancholly will, in spite of my Exertions to the contrary, creep over me. — I know not in that period of time, what may take place. Their situation in life may be pleasant enough to them, but it is of not much . . . . to me as long as I cannot be present to partake of their happiness — I generally have a tolerable share of philosophy to help me through my difficulties — But in the present instance, it does not indeed impart to me

much Consolation to believe, that, my Friends require my Services & that My Country imperiously demands them, — It is hard, very hard indeed to accustome oneself to be perfectly humorous on *Such particular* Occasions. The Legions of H— fire sieze the Musquetoes! My hands while I am now writing are larger than ever Old *Daniel Lambert's* (which were *something like half a foot through*) Swelled in Consequence of the bite of these Cursed insects.

A part of the first Brigade of the Northern army Marched a few days since from this Cantonment to Utica. Destination from thence supposed to be Sachetts Harbour. They are to be under the Command of Brig. Gen! Brown.

The troops at this port, are remarkably healthy — I think that we shall soon have a fine Establishment, as new Troops are coming in almost every day.

Our Fleet, are at present sufficiently strong to keep us . . . The Enemy, it is said, are building two large Vessels at the *Isle aux Noix* — I dont believe it. My duty at present is very hard owing to the number of Picket guards which we are obliged to keep out for the Safety of the Camp; but my health is uncommonly good.

My particular Respects to the members of your family — Remember me to . . . Mention if you please, to Mr. Sumner, that I have recd. his letter & the papers enclosed. therein. The paymaster is now at Burlington. He will be here shortly, and I will then faithfully attend the Business.

I think that my letter, by this time, is sufficiently tiresome to you; I will Close it with a request that you present my Compliments to Ensign Cabot, & write to me when it shall suit your inclination or convenience — Respectfully & with

I have not room, on this sheet, to write more if you wished it. Esteem Yours

Samuel Elam Albro

PRINTING IN PEACHAM, VERMONT:

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by HAROLD G. RUGG

Printing was established at Peacham, Vermont, by Amos Farley and Samuel Goss. They published on Friday, September 23, 1798, the first issue of the Green Mountain Patriot. *This partnership was dissolved in 1802. We read in the issue of the* Patriot *for April 23, 1801, "To the Public. Partnership of Farley & Goss is this day dissolved . . . N.B. The Printing and Business will be conducted by said Goss, who is in the want of an apprentice. An active, industrious lad from 14 to 16 years of age will find good encouragement, if application be made immediately. Peacham April 20th 1801." The last issue located for 1807 is dated May 26. In the issue of the* Political Observatory, *Walpole, N.H., for June 5, 1807, we find in the news items the following:* "The Green Mountain Patriot, *a federal paper, printed in Peacham Vermont is discontinued." Apparently about this time Goss went to Montpelier. According to Gilman's "Bibliography of Vermont" he purchased of Clark Brown* The Vermont Precursor *which he published for a while under that title, later changing it to* The Watchman. *This he published until some time in 1810 when he sold it to E. P. Walton. The* Green Mountain Patriot *apparently resumed publication in Peacham some time in 1809. The American Antiquarian Society has one copy for January 27, 1810, which is numbered vol. 10, no. 510. This is the last copy known.*

The American Antiquarian Society has the largest file of this paper in existence — practically a complete file from its beginning to May 26, 1807. It also has the issue for 1810 mentioned above. The Norman Williams Library in Woodstock, Vt., has a file from February 21, 1799, to December 30, 1801. Other libraries have apparently only scattering numbers.

Beside the Green Mountain Patriot, *24 Peacham imprints have been located. The libraries possessing these rare items are the American Antiquarian Society, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Library of Congress, New Hampshire Historical Society, New York Public Library, Vermont Historical Society, and the private libraries of A. H. Parker and Harold G. Rugg.*

1. Austin, Samuel. The evangelical Preacher, a faithful, and an affec- / tionate Preacher of Christ. / A / Sermon, / delivered at the / Ordination / of the / Rev. Leonard Worcester, / to the / Pastoral Care / of the / church in Peacham, Vermont, / October 30th, 1799. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Farley & Goss. / 1800. / pp. 32, 21 cm. (AAS, JCB, VHS, R). In issue of the Green Mountain Patriot for May 21, 1800 is the advertisement "will be ready for sale on Saturday next. Price 12 1/2 cents. A Sermon . . ."

2. Boston and Montreal Turnpike Company. The / Act of Incorporation, / and the / Bye Laws, / of the / Boston and Montreal Turn / Pike Company, / (rule) Peacham: / Printed by Samuel Goss, / 1806. / pp. 12, 18½ cm. (VHS).

3. Burton, Asa. A / Sermon, / Delivered at / Montpelier, Vermont, / At the / Ordination / Of the / Rev. Chester Wright, / August 16, 1809. / . . . Peacham, Vt. / From the Press of Samuel Goss, / 1809. / pp. 24, 21 cm. (AAS, VHS).

4. Farley & Goss' / Almanac, / or / Vermont Calendar, / for the Year of Our Lord / 1799: / . . . [Peacham: Printed by Farley & Goss 1798.] pp. [24,] 18½ cm. (LC, lower half of title-page missing. Imprint supplied from issue of 1800.) Advertised in issue of Green Mountain Patriot of November 23, 1798 as "just published and for sale at this office . . ."

5. Farley & Goss' / Almanac, / or / Vermont Calendar, / for the Year of Our Lord / 1800: / . . . Peacham: / Printed by Farley & Goss, / and for Sale at their Printing Office; at the different / Stores in this town; and various other places. / Price 50 cts. per Dozen. — 6 Cts. Single. / [1799] [pp. 24], 28½ cm. (LC). Advertised in Green Mountain Patriot for November 28, 1799 as "just published."

6. Fitch, John. A / Sermon, / delivered before / His Excellency The Governor, The Lieu- / tenant Governor, The Council, And / House Of Representatives, / Of Vermont, / At Danville, November 10th 1805; / being the day of / General Election. / . . . Peacham: / Printed by Samuel Goss, / 1805. / pp. 25, 21 cm. (AAS, LC, R).

7. Fitch, John. A / Sermon, / Delivered at Danville, / at the Request of / Harmony Lodge; / as a / Tribute of Respect for the Memory / of the late / Gen. George Washington; / February 26th 1800. / . . . Peacham, Vermont / Printed by Farley & Goss, / 1800 / pp. 24, 20½ cm. (NYP, VHS, R). In issue of Green Mountain Patriot for April 16, 1800 is the advertisement "Rev. Mr. Fitch's Sermon, on the Death of Gen. Washington, will be ready for delivery on Saturday next."

8. Forsyth, William. A / Sermon, / Preached at Danville, / before the / Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, / of / Harmony Lodge, / at the Celebration of the / Festival of St. John the Baptist, / June 25,

1798. / . . . Printed at Peacham, Vermont, / By Farley & Goss. / 1798, / pp. 24, 23 cm. (AAS, VHS, R). Apparently the first item printed by Farley and Goss, advertised in the Green Mountain Patriot for August 10, 1798 as "This day published . . . If this Sermon should be found useful and acceptable to the Public, the Author proposes to continue his Publications."

9. Goldsmith, Oliver. The / Deserted Village, / a / Poem. By Dr. Goldsmith, / Peacham, Vt. / From the Press of Samuel Goss. / 1810. / pp. 16, 18 cm. (A. H. Parker collection).

10. Green Mountain Patriot (see introductory note).
Historicus [Sampson, Ezra] The / Sham-patriot / Unmasked; or, / an exposition of the fatally successful / Arts of Demagogues, / to exalt themselves. / by Flattering and Swindling / the People — ; / in a variety of pertinent facts, / drawn from / Sacred and Profane History. / . . . Peacham: / Printed by Samuel Goss. / 1804. / pp. 81, 18½ cm. (AAS, LC). Advertised in Green Mountain Patriot for June 19, 1804 as "just published."

11. M'Culloch, John. A / Jaunt to Egypt; / containing / A Brief Account / of the most / Important Battles, / during / The Late War, / in that country. / By John M'Culloch, / who served through each Campaign — addressed to his / father in Barnet. / Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Samuel Goss. / 1803. / pp. 21, 17 cm. (LC). Advertised in issue of Green Mountain Patriot for July 13, 1803 as "just published . . . price 12 1/2 cents."

12. Peck, John. A short poem, containing a descant on the universal plan; also lines on the happy end of the righteous, and the prosperity and death of the rich man spoken of in St. Luke's gospel, chapter XVI. Advertised in Green Mountain Patriot for July 13, 1804, as the third edition (no copy located).

13. Pope, Alexander. An / Essay / on / Man. / In Four Epistles. / . . . Printed at Peacham, Vermont, / By Farley & Goss / 1798. / pp. 44, 21 cm. (R). Advertised in the issue of the Green Mountain Patriot for August 8, 1799 as "just published" . . . "price 20 cents."

14. Trescott, William. Star Cross; / by which can be found, / the / Hour and Minute of the Night, / with / Ease and Exactness, / without the assistance of either / Clock or Watch. / . . . Peacham; / Printed by Samuel Goss, / For the author, / 1802. / [pp. 24] 18½ cm. (AAS).

15. Smith, Ethan. A / Farewell / Sermon, / delivered at / Haverhill, New Hampshire, / Sabbath, June 30, 1799. / Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Farley & Goss, / 1800. / pp. 27, 20½ cm. (JCB, NHHS). Advertised in issue of the Green Mountain Patriot for March 5, 1800 as "just published — price 12 1/2 cents and to be sold, at Deacon Jonathan Elkins' in Peacham, and at the different stores in Haverhill, a Farewell Sermon, delivered at Haverhill, N.H. Sabbath, June 30

1799, by Ethan Smith, A.B., who had been Pastor of the Church of Christ in said town; but was now dismissed for want of support. Feb. 19 1800."

16. Tolman, Thomas. An / Oration, / on the Death of / Gen. George Washington; / Delivered at / Danville, / before / Harmony Lodge of Free Masons, / and a large / Concourse of Citizens, / The 26th Day of February, A.D. 1800. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Farley & Goss. / 1800. / pp. 14, 23½ cm. (HEH). Advertised as "just published" April 2, 1800 in the Green Mountain Patriot.

17. Vermont. An Act, / to regulate / The Choice Of A / Council of Censors; / Passed October 28th, 1805. (line) / Peacham: / Printed by Samuel Goss, / 1805. / pp. 8, 18 cm. (HEH).

18. Worcester, Leonard. The / Doctrine of Atonement, / and others connected with it, / Stated and Vindicated; / in / Answer / to the / Rev. Mr. Gibson's Sermon, / on Isaiah XXXV, 8. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Samuel Goss. / 1802. / pp. 47, 21½ cm. (AAS, R). In issue of Green Mountain Patriot for December 8, 1802 "Mr. Worcester's answer to Mr. Gilman is now ready for delivery. Subscribers are urged to call for their books."

19. Worcester, Leonard. An / Oration, / pronounced at / Peacham, / in / Commemoration of the Death / of the late / Gen. George Washington, / February 22d, 1800. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Farley & Goss. / 1800. / pp. 20, 21½ cm. (AAS, HEH, LC). Advertised in the Green Mountain Patriot for March 12, 1800 as "just published."

20. Worcester, Leonard. A / Sermon, / preached at / Montpelier, / Lord's Day, October 15, 1809, / . . . second edition. / Peacham, Vt. / From The Press Of Samuel Goss, / 1809/ pp. 24, 22½ cm. (AAS, HEH, R).

21. Worcester, Leonard. A / Sermon, / Preached at / Peacham, / April 28th 1802; / being a day of / Public Fasting And Prayer. / in the / State of Vermont. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Samuel Goss. / 1802. / pp. 32, 21 cm. (AAS, R). Advertised in issue of Green Mountain Patriot for June 30, 1802 as "just published."

22. Worcester, Leonard. A / Sermon. / Preached at / Peacham, / Lord's Day, / November 15th 1801. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Samuel Goss. / 1801. / pp. 32, 23½ cm. (AAS).

23. Worcester, Leonard. A / Sermon / Preached at / Peacham, / Lord's Day, / November 13th, 1803. / . . . Peacham, Vermont, / Printed by Samuel Goss, / 1804. / pp. 32, 21 cm. (R).

24. Worcester, Noah. The first Commandment of all illustrated and applied. (ornament) / A / Sermon, / Preached at / Campton, / Lord's Day, August 10th, 1806. / . . . Peacham; / Printed by Samuel Goss, / 1806. / pp. 23, 19½ cm. (R).

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